

A  
DISCOURSE  
O F  
CONSTANCY,  
In  
TWO BOOKS.

Chiefly containing Consolations  
Against  
*Publick Evils.*

---

Written in Latin  
By *JUSTUS LIPSIUS*,  
and translated into English  
By *Nathaniel Wanley, M. A.*

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To his very Worthy Friend

JOHN HAREWELL

In the Middle Temple Esquire.

As soon as my spare  
houres were delivered of this birth;  
I resolved it should be  
yours. Not that you  
cannot converse with  
*Lipsius* when you please,  
without the help of an  
Interpreter: Nor that I  
pretend by so slight a  
present as this, to dis-  
count with him; who  
\* 2 ha's

ha's ever been ready to perform me all the best Offices that can be expected from a generous and disinterested friendship. But, to speak truth, I have done it in a kind of tenderness to my self: I know you will look upon my prefixing your name to this Essay with other Eyes than some others would; and will interpret that to be the Fruit of a well-meaning affection; which perhaps they would

would have called the  
bold effects of an unpardonable  
presumption. Being also conscious to  
my self, in what manner I have humbled that  
mighty Genius, which  
moves it self (with a peculiar and happy elegance as well as reason)  
throughout almost every page of our Authour,  
by the cheap and base allay I have brought unto it : I determined to  
appease his Manes, and  
make him some amends

at least by the choice of  
such a patronage as pos-  
sibly himself would not  
have refused: I am sure  
I do not flatter you,  
when I say you are none  
of those degenerate *Brit-*  
*tains*, whom *Gildas* their  
own Country-man calls  
*ætatis alamentum*; but such  
a one as *Lipsius* himself  
doth elsewhere describe.

——— *In quo, veteris vestigia recti*  
*Et mores, video, ductos meliore metallo.*  
In whom the prints of ancient worth  
appear,  
And the choice draughts of manners  
are as clear.

Go

Go on Sir, and as  
you have hitherto very  
happily avoided those  
Rocks, whereupon  
some others (in an Age  
like yours, and through  
the dangerous allure-  
ments of a fortune at  
command) have fatally  
split themselves: So let  
every new accession of  
years, bring along with  
it such improvements,  
as may force us to ac-  
knowledge, that you  
have more than acquit-  
ted your self of all that

your youth had so liberally promised. These are such wishes as he shall ever be prone to; who is

SIR,

*Coventry,*  
*Octob, 1668.*

Your most obliged  
Friend and servant,

*N. WANLEY,*

To

To the Noble and Magnifique

# CONSULS,

And to the

SENATE and PEOPLE

Of

ANTWERP.

**T***Hese Books of Constancy, which I both began and finished in the midst of the troubles of my Country, I thought meet to dedicate, and devote to you; the great Senators of so great a City. Your Dignity, Prudence, and Virtue, were the motives to it; together with that humanity of*  
*yours*

yours which I have often experienced, and which is peculiar to you; towards all that are good and learned. You will not I suppose disdain the gift; which though small in it self, will derive a kind of value from the mind of the Donour: Seeing I have given you the very best, and greatest of such things, as my Scholastical stores would at this time afford. To conclude, possibly the novelty of it may some way recommend it. For (if I am not mistaken) I am the first, who have attempted the opening, and clearing of  
this



be- this way of *Wisdom*, so long re-  
lar cluded, and overgrown with  
pill thorns; which certainly is such,  
st; as (in conjunction with the holy  
lf, Scriptures) will lead us to tran-  
om quility, and peace. For my  
e- own part, I wanted not a desire,  
ry to render my thankful acknow-  
s, ledgments to you; and to con-  
ld tribute to the profit of others; if  
n- I have not had the ability, it is  
it but reasonable, that you should  
t. be as equal to me, as I am to the  
I great God; who I know hath  
t- not given all things to any one.  
of Farewell.  
is



JUSTUS LIPSIUS

To the

# READER,

Touching the design and End of this  
TREATISE.

Reader,

**I** am not ignorant of those new judgments and censures I am likely to undergo in this new way of writing: Partly, from such as will be surprized with the unexpected profession of wisdom from him, whom they believed had only been conversant in the more pleasing and delightful studies; and partly from such as will despise and undervalue all that can be said in these matters, after what the ancients have written. To both these; it is for my concern, and no less for thine, that I should briefly reply. The first sort of persons seem to me to miscarry in two most different respects: in their care, and their carelessness. In the former that they assume to themselves a liberty of enquiring into the actions and studies of others: In the latter, that their enquiries are yet so overly and superficial. For (that I may give them an account of me) the Hills and Springs of the Muses did never so intirely

## To the Reader.

intirely possess me; as that I should not find frequent opportunities to turn back my Eyes and Atind upon that severer duty: I mean Philosophy. The studies of which (even from my Childhood) were so pleasing to me, that in this youthful kind of ardour I seemed to offend, and to stand in need of the bridle of restraint. My Tutors at Ubich know how all those kind of books, were as it were forced out of my hands together with those writings and commentaries which I had laboriously composed out of all the best ranks of interpreters. Nor certainly did I afterward degenerate; for I know that in all the course of my studies; if not in an exact and straight line, yet at least in the flexure, I have tended towards this mark of wisdom. Not after the rate of most here that deal in Philosophy: who doting upon some thorny subtilties, or snares of questions, do nothing else but weave and unweave them with a kind of subtle thread of disputations. They rest in words, and some little fallacies; and wear away their dayes in the Porch of Philosophy, but never visit its more retired apartments. They use it as a divertisement, not as a remedy, and turn the most serious instrument of life, into a sportage with trifles: who amongst them seeks after the improvement of his manners, the moderation of his affections; or designs a just end and measure for his fears or hopes.

Yes,

## To the Reader.

Yes, they suppose that wisdom is so little concerned in these things, that they think they do nothing, or nothing to the purpose that look after them, And therefore if you consider of their life, and sentiments, amongst the vulgar themselves you shall find nothing more foul than the one, nor more foolish than the other. For as wine (though nothing is more wholesome) is yet to some no better than poyson: So is Philosophy to them that abuse it. But my Mind was otherwise; who alwayes steering my Ship, from these quick sands of subtilties, have directed all my endeavours to attain that one Haven of a peaceable and quiet mind. Of which study of mine; I mean these books as the first and undeceivable instance. But say some others, these things have been more fully and better treated of by the ancients. As to some of them I confess it: As to all I deny it. Should I write any thing of manners or the affections after Seneca and the divine Epictetus: I should have (my self being judge) as little discretion as modesty: But if such things as they have not so much as touched upon, nor any other of the ancients (for I dare confidently affirm it) then why do they despise it, or why do they carp at it? I have sought out consolations against publick evils: Who has done it before me? Whether they look upon the matter, or the method; they must confess they are indebted to

me

## To the Reader.

*me for both: And for the words themselves (let me say it) we have no such penury, as to oblige us to become suppliants to any Man. To conclude, let them understand I have written many other things for others; but this book chiefly for my self; the former for fame, but this for profit. That which one heretofore said bravely and acutely; the same I now truly proclaim. To me a few Readers are enough, one is enough; none is enough. All that I desire is, that whosoever opens this book, may bring with him a disposition to profit, and also to pardon. That if possibly I have any where slipt (especially when I endeavour to climb those steep places of providence, Justice and Fate) they would pardon me. For certainly, I have no where erred out of malice and obstinacy: But rather through humane ignorance and infirmity. To conclude, I desire to be informed by them, and I promise that no Man shall be so ready to convince; as I to correct. The other frailties of my nature, I neither dissemble nor extenuate; but obstinacy and the study of contention, I do heartily pray I may never be guilty of, and I do detest it. God send thee good health, my Reader; which I wish may be in part to thee through this book;*

(I)



A

DISCOURSE  
OF  
CONSTANCY.

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BOOK I.

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CHAP. I.

*The Preface and Introduction, a Complaint of the troubles of Belgia.*



Some few Years since travelling towards Vienna in Austria; not without a signal Providence, I turned aside to the City of Liege; which

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as

as it was not much out of my way : So I had some Friends there, whom both Custom and Affection did oblige me to salute. Amongst these vvas *Charles Langius* ( to say nothing but vwhat is truth ) the very best and most Learned Man of all the *Belgians*, I vvas receiv'd by him at his own House ; vwhere he sweetned my entertainment, not only by the expresses of a civil and friendly respect ; but also by such kind of discourses ; as I shall doubtless find advantageous to me, during the remainders of my life. This, this I say vvas the Man, vwho by the dissipation of some Mists of Vulgar Opinions, vvas the First that open'd my Eyes ; and shew'd me the way, vwhereby without intricacy I might arrive at those desireable places, vvhich *Lucretius* calls



*The high-rai'd Temples which the Wise  
By learning make to top the Skies.*

For one hot Afternoon ( as being  
towards the end of *June* ) vvhile vve  
vvalk'd in the Court before his House:  
In very obliging Termes he ask'd me  
concerning my Journey, and the Rea-  
sons that had mov'd me to it. After  
I had spoken many things vvith equal  
Freedom and Truth, concerning the  
troubles of *Belgia*: I told him at last,  
that howsoever I had pretended an-  
other; yet this vvas the very Reason  
of my departure. For vvho, O *Lan-  
gius* said I, is there to be found of so  
flinty and hard a heart; as longer to  
endure these evils? We are tols'd as  
you see, for so many Years together  
in the stormes of a Civil War: and  
are vvhirld up and down in a Tem-  
pestuous Sea vvith the different Winds  
of Trouble and Sedition. Doth my  
temper incline me to ease and quiet?

The hoarse accents of Trumpets, and the clashing of Armes, do speedily interrupt me. Do I seek my Diversifements in the Country or Gardens? The Souldier and Swash-buckler soon fright me into the City. And therefore, O *Langius*, leaving this infested and unfortunate *Belgia* (pardon me O thou Genius of my Country) I am resolv'd (as he saies) to shift my Habitation; and to fly into any part of the Earth, where I may neither hear of the name or actions of this Race of *Pelops*. *Langius* admiring and somewhat mov'd; Is it true then *Lipsius*, saies he, that you will needs depart from us? Either from you or most undoubtedly from this Life, reply'd I. For what Sanctuary is there from these Evils, but only in the flight of them? For to behold them and endure them daily I am not able *Langius*, as being one whose heart you may be sure is not compos'd of Adamant. *Langius* sigh'd at this discourse; and feeble  
Young

## Chap. 1. of Constancy.

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Young Man said he, what kind of delicacy is this? Or what may be thy meaning to seek for safety by flight? I acknowledge your Country is full of Trouble and Turmoile; but vvhhat part of *Europe* is that which is at this day free? Insomuch as you may truly praelege according to that of *Aristophanes*,

*Things that are high with a full frown  
High-thundring Iove will tumble down.*

And therefore not so much our Country (*Lipsius*) as our Passions are to be fled: and this Mind of ours is to be so fram'd and establish'd, as that vve may find repose in the midst of troubles, and peace in the midst of Warrs. They are rather to be fled, *Langius*, (reply'd I with an ardour Youthfull enough) for certainly those evils that vve hear of, do more lightly affect us, than those vve behold: and withall our selves (as they say) are out of Gun-

A 3

shot

shot and the dust of this contention.  
Do you not hear how craftily *Homer*  
advises?

*Get out o'th compass of the Arrows flight,  
Lest a new wound upon the former light.*

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## C H A P. II.

*That Travaile availes not against those  
Diseases which are within us. It  
is rather a Symptome than a Cure: un-  
less in some first and light motion of  
the Affections.*

**Y**Es I hear him, said *Langius*, vwith  
a kind of Nod: but I had rather  
you would hear the Voice of Wisdom  
and Reason. For those Clouds and  
Mists vvhich enwrap you *Lipsius*, are  
ingendered by the Vapours of Opini-  
on. And therefore in this Case (as  
*Diogenes* saies) you have more need of  
Rea-

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Reason than a Rope: I mean such a ray as may enlighten the darkness of your understanding. You are about to leave your Country, but tell me seriously, vwhen you forsake it, can you also forsake your self? Take heed lest you experience the contrary; and carry with you even in that bosome of yours, the source and fountain of all your evils. As those who are sick of a Feaver do continually tosse and tumble, and shift their Beds, with a vain hope of finding some ease thereby: In the same manner it is vvith us, who do in vain pass from one Climate to another; vvwhile the sickness is in our Minds. For this is to manifest, not to remove the discase: to make a discovery of this Internal heat; but not at all to assuage it. The wise Roman speaks excellently vvell. 'Tis the property of the sick not to endure any thing long: and to make use of change it self, instead of a Remedy. Hence are those straggling peregrinations, and

those wandering Voyages upon the  
Shores undertaken : Now by Land,  
and anon by Sea; vvith a levity that  
is ever disgusted vvith vvhatsoever is  
present. You do therefore rather fly  
than escape troubles, after the manner  
of that Hind in *Virgil*

*VVhich (while unvvary she at distance feeds  
Among the Crætan vvoods and nothing  
heeds)*

*Some Shepherds arrow strikes; away she  
hies,*

*And through Dictæan vvoods and vvoves  
she flies :*

But all in vain; for as the same Poet  
addes.

—— ——— *the fatall reed*  
*Sticks in her side, for all her speed.*

'Tis thus with you, who being in-  
vvardly smitten vvith this dart of Pas-  
sion; do not by travell shake it out :  
but

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but rather carry it elsewhere. He that ha's broke an Arm or Leg does not use to call for a Horse or Coach, but for a Chirurgion: What kind of Vantitie then is that of yours; that causes you to seek the Cure of an inward wound, by motion and gadding up and down? For certainly it is the mind which is sick; and all this outward weakness, despair and langour, arises from this one Fountain, that it languishes and is cast down. That Princely and Diviner part hath cast away the Scepter; and hath humbled it self to that Degree of baseness; as to become a voluntary slave to its own Vassalles.

Tell me now in this Case; what advantage is to be hop'd for, from Place or Motion? Unless possibly there is any such Region, which can temper our Fears, or bridle our hopes; or make us discharge our selves again of that filthy matter of Vices, which we have so liberally taken down. But there

there is alas no such, no not in the Fortunate Islands themselves; or if there be, be so kind as to shew us it, and vve vwill all embody and forthvvith march thither. You vwill say that very Motion, and change of place it self hath that force; and that those daily sights, that variety of Customes men and places, vvwhich vve meet vvith in travell; doth recreate and roule afresh the dejected Mind.

You are deceiv'd *Lipsius*, for ( to speak seriously and as the matter doth require ) I do not so far forth depress travail as to grant it no kind of pover over Man, and his Affections. Yes, let it be yielded that it hath, but hitherto only, that it may possibly remove some lighter tædium; or as it vvwere loathings of the Mind: but as for the Diseases of it, they have lodg'd themselves so deep therein, as to mock the Virtues of any external Medicines. Musick, Wine, Sleep have frequently cur'd those first and lesser Mo-



Motions of Anger, Grief, or Love: But never the Disease, vvhhen once it hath been fix'd and hath fastned its Roots deep. The case is the same here; Travail vwill possibly heal some lighter languors, but it can never cure the true ones. For those First Motions vvhich do arise from the Body, do after a sort still remain in the Body; or at most (if I may say so) in the superficies of the Mind: and therefore it is no marvail, if some lesler sponge be able to vvipe them out. But it is not so vvith those inveterate Affections; vvich have their Seat, yea throne in the very Soul of the Mind. When therefore you have gone far, and spent much time in travail, vvhhen you have circled both Sea and Land: Yet no Seas vwill suffice to vvash them out, nor any Earth to overvvhelme them. They vwill follow you, and vvwhether on Foot or on Horse-back, that I may use the Phrase of the Poet; these black cares vwill sit behind you.

When

When *Socrates* was ask'd by one what might be the Reason that he had no better accomplish'd himself by travail : he answer'd him pertinently ; because said he you did not travail from your self. Somewhat like unto this I shall now say : Even w<sup>h</sup>ithersoever you shall betake your self ; you will have in your company a corrupted and a corrupting Mind ; none of the most desireable associates. I wish it an associate only , but I fear it may prove a leader : For your Affections will not so much follow you ; as they will dragg you after them.

## C H A P. III.

*That the true Diseases of the Mind are not removed by travail; but are thereby the more exasperated. That it is the Mind which is sick; a remedy for which is to be sought for from Wisdom and Constancy.*

**Y**OU vvill say then: doth not travail call us away from those truer evils? vvill not the prospect of Fields, Rivers, and Mountains place us beyond the sense of our Grief? They may possibly call you off; and place you beyond: but neither for any time nor vvith any firmness. As the eye is not long delighted with a picture how excellent soever: So all that varietie of Men and places, may affect us vvith the Novelty; but it vvill not last long. This is indeed a kind of vvandering from Evils; but not the flight

flight of them : Nor is it in the power of travail to break ; all it can do is to lengthen, this Chain of our Grievs. What advantage is it to me for a while to behold the Light, and then forthwith to pass into some comfortless Dungeon ? Such is the case ; and verily the whole Body of these outward pleasures do lie in ambush for the Soul ; and hurt us the more securely, while they pretend to assist us. As the weaker sort of Medicines do rather exasperate than draw forth the peccant humour : So this vain complacencie doth encrease and swell the Tide of these desires in us. For the Mind doth not long vander from it self ; but by and by how unvvilling soever is compell'd to return home, unto its old familiaritie vvith Evils. Those very Cities and Mountains vvhich you go to see ; vvill reduce to your thoughts the Memory of your Country : And in the midst of all your delights ; you vvill either see or hear  
of

of something, vvhich vwill uncloſe a-  
freſh the vvounds of your Griefes: Or  
if poſſibly you may reſt avvhile; it  
vwill prove but like to one of thoſe  
ſhorter ſlumbers; that leave the a-  
vvaked party, in the ſame or a greater  
Feaver. For there are a ſort of de-  
ſires which being interrupted do in-  
creaſe the more: And are ſenſibly  
the ſtronger for having had Vaca-  
tions.

Away then *Lipſius* vvith theſe vain  
yea dangerous experiments; more like  
to poyſons than remedies: And betake  
your ſelf to thoſe, vvhich how ſevere  
ſoever, are yet the true ones. Are  
you about to change vour Soile and  
Climb? O rather let it be your Mind:  
vvhich you have unhappily withdrawn  
from the Obedience of Right Reaſon:  
for no other purpoſe than to make it  
a Slave to your Affections. The un-  
ſound temper of that is the Root of  
this deſpair; and thence are your  
languors becauſe that is corrupted.  
It

It behoves you then rather to endeavour a change of that, than of the place; and to strive not so much to be elle where, as to be another. You long now to see the fruitfull *Austria*, the Loyal and Stout *Vienna*, that King of Rivers the *Danubius*, and those other rare and strange things vvhich Men so delightfully listen to the Relations of.

But how much better were it for you, if you had the same Ardour and eagerness after Wisdome? If you vvould foot it in those fertile Fields; if you vvould search out the springs of Humane perturbations; in fine, if you vvould erect such Bulwarks and Forts; as might render you impregnable to all the storms and assaults of such desires as are Illegitimate? For these are the grand Remedies for your Disease; and every thing besides are but as Lint and Lavatory. Your departure vvill nothing help you; It vvill  
be

be small advantage to you that you have

*Escap'd to many Gracian Cities, and  
Through Squadrons of arm'd Ships get safe  
to Land.*

You will find an Enemy vwithin your self; and Claying his hand on my brest) in that so private an apartment. What matter is it how peaceable those places are to which you shall arrive: So long as you carry a War along vwith you? Or how quiet? When troubles not only surround you, but are got vwithin you. For this disagreeing Mind of ours, vwill ever be piquering vwith it self: Desiring and flying; hoping and desparing. And as those flying Cowards do most of all expose themselves to danger; that discover their unarmed Backs to their Enemies: So those Errants and Fresh-water Souldiers also do: vvho as yet did never maintain a fight vwith their

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Affections but alwayes fled before them. But thou Young Man, if thou wilt hearken unto me, thalt stand, and fortifie thy self against this Enemie of Grief. For above all things it is constancy you stand in need off: and there are some vwho have commenced Conquerours by fighting, but not a single Person by flying.

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## C H A P. IV.

*The Definitions of Constancy; Patience; Right Reason and Opinion: The difference betwixt Obstinacy and Constancy, and betwixt Patience and Stupidity.*

Somewhat rais'd vvith this Discourse of *Langius*, there is much of Noble and Gallant (said I) in these Advices of yours: And now am I  
en-



endeavouring to raise up my self and stand: But to as little purpose as persons that attempt the same thing in their sleeps. For not to dissemble, *Langius*, I tumble back into my former Seat; and as vvell publiek as private Cares stick fast in my perplexed Mind. Drive from me (if it is possible) these Vultures vvhich are continually pecking, and take from me these Ligatures of Anxiety vvhich I feel my self bound unto this *Caucasus*. I shall doubtless take them away reply'd he, and as another *Hercules*, set at liberty this *Prometheus*: Do you only attend and consider. I did before invite you to Constancy, *Lipsius*, and it is in that I have placed the Hope and Sanctuary of all your Safety. This therefore in the first place is to be understood by us. Now by Constancy I here understand; AN UPRIGHT UNMOVED STRENGTH OF THE MIND; NEITHER ELEVATED NOR DEPRESS'D

BY EXTERNAL OR ACCIDENTAL OCCURRENCES. I said a **STRENGTH**, and I thereby understand such a firmness as is begot in the Mind, not by Opinion, but by Judgement and right Reason. For above all things I would exclude from hence Pervicaciousness (or whether I may better call it Per- tinaciousness) which it self is the strength of an Obedient Mind, but such only as is engender'd by the wind of Pride and vain Glory; and is but in one part of it only. For those Pervicacious Persons though they are not (swollen as they are) easily to be depress'd; Yet a light matter doth lift them up. Not unlike unto a bladder which being fill'd with wind will not sink without difficulty; but appears aloft, and bounds upon the Water of its own accord. Such is the flatulent hardness of these Men; which as I said arises from Pride, and too high an estimate of self, and by  
con-

## Chap.4. of Constancy. 21

consequence from Opinion. But the true Mother of Constancy, is Patience and lowliness of the Mind; which I define; A VOLUNTARY AND COMPLAINTLESSE ENDURANCE OF ALL THOSE THINGS WHATSOEVER THEY BE, THAT FALL OUT TO, OR FALL UPON A MAN FROM ELSEWHERE. Which being taken up, upon the account of right Reason, is that only Root, from whence the height of this excellent Oak-like strength doth wear it self. For here also it is requisite that you should be heedfull, lest Opinion should impose upon you, which frequently in the room of Patience doth subrogate a kind of abject and stupid temper of the Mind; a very Vice, and which arises from too low an estimate of our selves. As for Virtue she ever marches in the middle path, and is cautiously heedfull lest there should be any thing of Excess or Defect in

any of her Actions. For still she directs her self by the Ballance of right Reason, and hath that alone for the rule and square of her Test. Now this right Reason is nothing else but,  
A TRUE APPREHENSION  
AND JUDGEMENT OF HU-  
MANE AND DIVINE MAT-  
TERS, AS FARR AS THEY  
APPERTAIN TO US: Contrary  
hereunto is Opinion vvhich is A FU-  
TILE AND FALLACIOUS  
JUDGEMENT CONCERN-  
ING THE SAME THINGS.

## C H A P. V.

*The Originals of Reason and Opinion. The Power and Effects of each. That leads to Constancy; this to Levity.*

**B**Ut forasmuch as from this double Spring (I mean of Reason and Opinion) doth arise not only the strength or weaknes of the Mind : But also every of those things for vvhich vve are accounted praise-worthy, or reproveable amongst Men : I suppose I shall not do amiss, if I go about a little more copiously to Discourse of the Original and Nature of them both. For as Wools must have a previous tincture and preparation by some other juices; before they are capable of receiving as they should that last and more excellent colour they are intended for : After the same manner, *Lipsius*, your Mind is to be prepared

by a preceding Discourse ; before I shall be able ( as I vould ) to dye it in the last purple of Constancy. There are therefore ( as you vvell know ) two parts in Man, Soul and Body : the one more Noble as resembling Spirit and Office ; the other is more Base as it respects the earth : These two are joyn'd together, yet vvith a kind of disagreeing Concord, nor do they easily accord vvith one another, especially in those matters wherein Sovereignty, or subserviency is concern'd. For both have a desire to sway ; but that especially that ought not. Earth strives to advance it self above its own fire ; and Clodds are ambitious to get above the Clouds. From hence are those broils and troubles in a Man ; and as it vv ere a continual fight, betwixt two parties that are alvvayes Skirmishing vvith each other. The chief Leaders, and as it vv ere Generalls unto these are Reason and Opinion. The one is for the Soul  
and

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and Warres therein; the other is for the Body, and in the Body it fights. Reason derives its Pedigree from Heaven; yea from God himself, and very highly doth *Seneca* extoll it, as a part of the Divine Spirit infused into Man. For this is that most excellent faculty of understanding and judging, which is no less the perfection of the Soul, than the Soul it self is the perfection of the Man. The Greeks call it the Mind, and so the Latines, or else the Mind of the Soul. For (that you be not mistaken) the vvhole Soul is not right Reason; but that only therein vvhich is simple, Uniform, unmixed, sever'd from all Lees and Dreggs, and (in a vword) that vvhich is in it of sublime and cœlestial. For the Soul it self (howsoever it is lamentably corrupted and infected, vwith the stain of the Body, and the contagion of the Senses) doth yet invvardly retain some certain Footsteps of its Original: and there are in it (very clearly  
dis-

discernible ) some sparkling remainders of that first and purer fire. Hence are those stings of Conscience even in the worst and most profligate Persons: Hence are those inward scourges and gnawings; and hence is that approbation of a better Life, which is frequently extorted from them, though not without a reluctance in themselves. For that sound and holier part within us, may possibly for a time be suppressed, oppressed it cannot. And that burning Flame may be cover'd; but cannot be extinguished. For those little Fires do alwayes shine forth, and sparkle out, to enlighten us amongst these shades, cleanse us from these stains; guide us in our wandrings; and to shew us the way to Constancy and Virtue. As the *Heliotrope* and some other Flowers do by a natural instinct bend towards the Sun: So doth Reason turn it self to God and the Original of its self. Firm and immoveable in what is good,  
one



one and the same in its Censures; ever desiring or flying one and the same thing, the very source and Fountain of right Councel and sound Judgement. To obey this is no less than to command, and to be subject here is to sway the Scepter of the Universe. Who ever hearkens unto this hath already subjugated the rebellious desires and motions of the Mind: And he shall never be wildred in the Labyrinths of this Life, who remits himself to the guidance of this *Theseian* Clevv. God himself by this his Image comes unto us (nay vvhich is yet more) into us. But that baser and unsounder part (I mean Opinion) it owes its Original to the Body (that is to say) to Earth, and therefore favours nothing besides it. For the Body howsoever it is immovable and senseless of it self; yet it derives both Life and Motion from the Soul; and on the other side presents to the Soul, the Images of things  
through

through the Windowes of the senses. Thus there is a kind of Communion and Society Cemented betwixt the Soul and the Body: but such a communion, as if vve attend the Event, proves unfortunate to the Soul. For through this it is that the Soul, by almost insensible degrees, is led from the Nobler place of its residence, becomes addiçtèd to and is mingled vwith the Senses, and from this impure mixture, is the birth of Opinion; vvhich is no other than a vain shadow, and resemblance of Reason. The true seat of it is Sense, the Parent, Earth; and therefore abject and base as it is, it advances not it self, it aspires not, nor so much as regards any thing that is lofty and Ætherial. It is ever vain, uncertain, deceitfull, ill-advising, and as perversly judging: and that vvhich it chiefly aimes at, is at once to deprive the Soul of Constancy and Truth. It languishes for this thing to day, and  
on

## Chap. 5. *of Constancy.* 29

on the Morrow despises it, this it approves and this it condemnes; nothing vvith judgement, but gratifying the Body and indulging the Senses in every thing. As the Eye makes but a false measure of those things vvhich it beholds through some Cloud or in the Water: So doth the Mind but perversly judge of vvhat it beholds through the misty Mediums of Opinion. This (if you consider vvell) is to Man the Mother of his Evils; and this is the Author of that confused and perturbed Life vvithin us. That cares do disquiet us, it is from hence; that the Passions do distract us, it is from hence; and if Vices do Reign over us, it is also from hence. And therefore as those vvho are resolv'd to abolish Tyranny in any City; do first of all demolish the Castle: So if vve are Serious in the prosecution of a good Mind, vve must subvert this Citadel of Opinions. For vve shall fluctuate vvith them for ever: Anxious

ous, Plaintfull, Discompos'd, and never (as vve ought) assigning vwhat is equall either to God or Man. As a void and empty Ship, is tossed in the Sea, vvith every wind: So vvill that Vagrant Mind of ours be, vvhich the vveight, and (as it vvere) the ballast of Reason hath not established.

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## C H A P. VI.

*The praise of Constancy, and a serious exhortation to pursue it.*

**L**Evity therefore *Lipsius* (as you see) is the Comrade of Opinion, and the property of it is alvvayes to change and to repent. But the associate of Reason is Constancy; to the putting on of vvhich I do very seriously exhort you. To vvhat purpose is it to have recourse unto things vain  
and

## Chap.6. of Constancy. 31

and external? This is that only *Helen* which can present you with that true and rich *Nepenthe*, in which you may drown the memory of all your Cares and Grievs; which if once you have tasted and taken down; proof against every chance, in the same equal tenour, and not wavering after the manner of a ballance; you may challenge to your self that great and God-like property of Immoveable. Have you not observed in the Scutcheons and Impresses of some of the Princes of this Age; that high and envied Motto, **NEITHER BY HOPE NOR FEAR?** It shall be yours; who being truly a King, and truly free; shall be a subject unto God alone, exempt from the bondage both of Affections and Fortune. As there are some certain Rivers which are said to pass through the middle of Seas; and yet preserve themselves intire: so you shall travel through surrounding tumults in such a manner,

manner, as not to contract any faltness from this Sea of sorrowes. Do you fall? Constancy will lift you up. Do you stagger? It vwill support you. Shall you hasten to some Pond or Halter? It vwill solace and reduce you from the very Portalls of Death. Do you only deliver, and raise up your self: Steere the course of your Ship unto this Haven, where Peace and Security dwell: In vvhich there is a Refuge and a Sanctuary from troubles and perplexities. Whereunto (assuredly) if you are once arriv'd; should your Country not only totter, but fall into ruines; your self should stand unshaken. When Storms and Tempests, and Thunder-bolts fall about you; yet then you shall cry out vvith as true, as loud a Voice,

*In midst of all these VVaves I stand  
Secure, as if upon the Land.*

CHAP. VII.

*What it is and how manifold, that opposes Constancy: they are external good and evil things. Those evils are twofold, Publick and Private; those which are Publick seem the most grievous and dangerous.*

**W**Hen *Langius* had spoken these things with a Voice and Air more earnest than he used: a spark of this desirable fire did seize on me also. And my Father said I (for I call you truly not feignedly so) lead me where-soever you please, and instruct, correct and direct me. You have a patient prepared for any method of Operation whether you shall determine to make use of the Caustick, or shall proceed to Amputation. Both these reply'd *Langius*, in as much as in some places the stubble of idle Opinions

is to be set on fire, and elsewhere the shrubs of Passions are to be grubb'd up by the very Roots. But shall vve continue our vvalk; or whether is it not better and most convenient for us to sit? To sit reply'd I, for I begin to be hot, and that upon divers accounts: So assoon as *Langius* had caus'd Chairs to be brought into the same Court, and that vve vvere both fate; turning himself towards me, he again thus began.

Hitherto *Lipsius* I have been laying the Foundations vwhereupon I might safely erect my discourse: Now if you vwill I shall draw a little nearer to you, enquire out the causes of your Grief, and as they say, lay my Finger upon the very sore. There are two things that lay Battery to this sort of Constancy vwithin us. False Goods and false Ills. Both vvhich I thus define. THINGS NOT WITHIN BUT ABOUT US and WHICH PROPERLY DO NEITHER DAMAGE



## Chap.7. *of Constancy.* 35

AGE NOR ADVANTAGE THIS  
OUR INWARD MAN THAT  
IS OUR SOUL. And therefore  
I will not call them Good or Evil;  
as if they were so absolutely and simply : But only from Opinion and the  
common mistake of the Vulgar. Amongst the First they Ranke Riches,  
Honours, Power, Health, Long-life.  
Amongst the Last Poverty, Infamy,  
want of Power, Diseases and Deaths;  
and in a word whatsoever is accidental and external. From these two  
stocks those four chief Affections grow  
up in us which compass and perplex  
the whole life of Man. Desire and Joy,  
Fear and Grief. The two former of  
these respect some imagined good;  
and thence are bred : the two last  
respect supposed evils. Each of them  
do equally hurt and molest the Mind :  
and unless care be taken to dethrone  
it; though not after one and the same  
manner. For whereas the repose and  
Constancy of the Mind is placed in

a kind of even and equall ballance; they force it from this poise, the one by hoisting, and the other by depressing it. But these false goods together vvith the Elation of the Mind by them, I shall purposely pass over ( as not concerning your Disease ) and hasten to those I call false evils; The Brigade of vvhich is also twofold: Publick and Private. The Publick I thus define; **SUCH AS THE SENSE OF WHICH, DOTHT AT ONE AND THE SAME TIME EXTEND TO MANY.** The Private; **SUCH AS REACH BUT TO SINGLE PERSONS.** Amongst the former I reckon Warrs, Pestilence, Famine, Tyranny, Slaught-er, and such other things as spread abroad; and do respect the community: Amongst the latter I put Grief, Poverty, Disgrace, Death; and what ever is enclos'd within private vvalls, and is the concernment of some particular person. It is not upon any  
fri-

## Chap.7. of Constancy. 37

frivolous account that I thus distinguish. Forasmuch, as indeed that Man mourns otherwise and in a different Fashion vwho laments the Calamity of his Country, the Exile and Destruction of many; than he vwho only sighs for his own misfortunes. Add to this, that from each of these do arise different Distempers, and if I mistake not, the more grievous and durable from the former. For most of us are concern'd in Publick Calamities; vwhether it is that they rush upon us vwith an impetuous vehemence: Or as it vvere in a form'd Battalia do overwhelm the Opposer, or rather that they flatter us vwith a kind of Ambition, that keeps us ignorant and insensible, that through them a sickness is bred in our Minds. For vwhoever he is that bows under a private Grief, he must of necessity acknowledge his vice and vweakness; although he amend it not, for vwhat excuse hath he? But he vwho falls

C 3                      under

under this other; so farr is he many times from the acknowledgement of his fall and fault, that he often makes it his boast, and esteems it a praise-worthy thing. For it is styl'd Piety and Commiseration, and there vvants but little; that this publick Feaver is not consecrated not only amongst the Virtues; but the very Deities themselves. The Poets and Oratours do everyvvhvhere extoll and inculcate the fervent Love of our Country: Nor do I my self desire altogether to erase it, but to temper and moderate it; this is all that I contend for. For assuredly it is a very vice, a Disease, the very fall of the Mind, and the casting of it down from its seat. But vvithall on the other side, it is a very grievous Disease, inasmuch as therein there is not a single Grief only, but your own and anothers confounded, and that other is also double, respecting the Men, or the Country.

I hat you may the better apprehend  
what

## Chap. 7. of Constancy. ' 39

what I have more obscurely deliver'd  
 takethis instance. You see your *Belgia* is at  
 this time press'd vvith more than a single  
 Calamity; the Flames of this Civil vvar  
 doth enwrap it on every side: You  
 see on all hands that Fields are vvaisted  
 and spoiled, Towns are burnt and o-  
 verturned; men are taken and slain; Ma-  
 trons are defiled; Virgins ravished, and  
 vvhatsoever inhumanities use to accom-  
 pany vvarr. Is not here matter of Grief  
 to you? Grief indeed; but a various and  
 divided one (if you consider it vvell; in-  
 asmuch as at one and the same time, you  
 lament your self, and your Countrymen,  
 and your Country besides. In your self  
 your losses, in your Countrymen their  
 various Fortune and Death, in your  
 Country, the change and overthrow of  
 its State. Here you have cause to cry  
 out; O miserable man that I am! there

*So many of my Countrymen must stand,  
 The shock of Plagues brought by a hostile  
 hand!*

and lastly elsewhere: My Father! My Country! So that he vvho is not affected vvith these things: he on whom the vvedge and vvweight of so many invading Evils can vvork nothing, must certainly be either a very temperate and vvise person, or exceedingly hard hearted.

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## C H A P. VIII.

*Publick Evils oppos'd. Three Affections restrain'd: and of these; First, a certain Ambitious Simulation, by which Men lament their own misfortunes as Publick Evils.*

W<sup>H</sup>at think you *Lipsius* have I not seem'd sufficiently to prevaricate vvith my Constancy, and to plead the Cause of your Grief? Yet I have done but as courageous and  
brave

## Chap.8. of Constancy.

41

brave Chieftains use; I have dar'd out your vvhole Forces into the Field; and now I mean to deal with them, in a Skirmish first and then a joyned Battail: In our Skirmish, there are three Affections (Great Enemies to Constancy) vvhich at the first on-set are to be thrown under Foot, these are Simulation, Piety and Pitty: Ile begin vvith Simulation.

You are not able you say to endure these publick evils, that they are not only grievous to you but Death it self. Are you in good earnest, or vvwhether is not there here some imposture and coufenage? At this a little heated: Nay said I do you ask this in earnest, or vvwhether is it mockery of my Grief, and on purpose to provoke me? I am serious reply'd he, for there are not a few of this Spittle of yours that impose upon their Physicians, and Counterfeit a publick Grief vvvhich yet in reality is but a private one. I demand therefore  
vvhe-

whether you are certain that this  
care,

*Which deepl<sup>y</sup> rooted in your brest  
Doth you so grievously molest,*

be taken up by you, upon your  
Countrys account, or only upon your  
own? What do you doubt it said I?  
I mourn solely upon the account of  
my Country, my Country *Langius*.  
He shaking his head as unsatisfied;  
consider of it again and again Young  
Man said he; I shall wonder to find  
in you so excellent and sincere a Piety,  
for certainly it is to be met with, but  
in a very few. I acknowledge it is  
usuall for Men to complain of pub-  
lick evils; nor is there any Grief so  
common, and (as I may so say) that  
doth sooner shew it self in the Fore-  
head: But if you examine it a little  
more nearly; you shall soon discover  
some disagreement betwixt the heart  
and the tongue. The Calamity of  
my



my Country doth affect me ; are  
 vvords more ambitious than true :  
 born in the Lips rather than in the  
 Reines. That vvhich is reported of  
*Polus* the Famous Actour, that vvhen  
 he was to play such a part at *Athens*  
 as required to be presented vvith a  
 remarkable passion; he privily brought  
 in the Urne and Bones of his dead  
 Son, and so fill'd the vvhole Thea-  
 tre vvith unfeigned Lamentations  
 and Tears; the same may be said of  
 most of you. You play your parts  
 in a Comedy (my Friends) and dis-  
 guised in the masking Face of your  
 Country; you lament your private  
 losses vvith the truest and most live-  
 ly Tears; The vvhole World saies  
*Arbiter* are employ'd in a Stage-play :  
 I am sure it is so here. This Civil  
 Warr (say they) torments us, the  
 shedding of innocent blood, and the  
 decease of Liberty and the Laws. Say  
 ye so? I perceive indeed your Grief,  
 I now ask and enquire of the cause  
 of

of it. Is it because Publick matters are but in an Evil case? Away vvith thy vizzard thou Stage-player; for it is because thy own concernments are so. We have often seen the Rusticks tremble and throng together unto the Temples, upon the approach of some sudden and unexpected Calamity; but so soon as it is over, call aside those very men; examine them apart, and you vvill find that each of these vvvas in fear only for his Corn, and some little Close of his own. Let them cry Fire, Fire, in this City, and I may almost affirm that the very Blind and the Lame vvill run to quench it. But vvhat think you? Is it for the Love of their Country? Inquire of themselves I pray, and the answer vvill be because the loss, or at least the fear of it doth extend to every Man in particular. It is in this case, after the very same manner: Publick evils do generally afflict and disquiet Men; not because  
many

many are concern'd in those losses :  
but because themselves are amongst  
those many.

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## C H A P. IX.

*A clearer discovery of this Simulation  
by Examples; something (by the way)  
of our true Country. Of that ma-  
lice in Men, which occasions them  
to rejoyce in the Evils of others,  
when themselves are secure.*

**B**E you therefore the Judge, and let  
this cause be pleaded before your  
own Tribunal; only (as I said before)  
let the disguise be taken off. As thus.  
Do you indeed feare this Warre?  
You do feare it. Upon what account?  
Because Pestilence and Slaughter are  
the companions of Warre. To whom  
comes

comes that Pestilence? To others indeed for the present, but it may also in time reach unto you. Behold there the true source of your Grief; and (if without the rack you will confesse the truth) it hath no other fountain. For as when the lightning hath strook down some one; even those also tremble who are near: so in those great and Common Calamities, the losse arrives unto few; but the fear unto all. Now take but that away, and together with it this grief also is removed. If Warre be amongst the *Aethiopians* or *Indians*, you are not mov'd at all (for you are in no danger) but if in *Belgia*, then you lament and take on, and deliver up your self to all the expressions of sorrow. But if you bewaile Publick evils as such; where lyes the difference? you will say that is not my Country. Thou Fool! Are not they also men? of the same stock and original with they self? under the same Canopy

## Chap.9. of Constancy. 47

Canopy of heaven ; and on the same Globe of Earth ? suppose you that this little Horizon which these mountains terminate , and these Rivers bound , is your Country ? you are mistaken ; It is the whole World , wheresoever there are men sprung from that celestial seed. *Socrates* of old reply'd excellently to one that ask'd him of what Country he was : of the World said he. For a great and lofty mind includes not it self within the narrow limits of opinion : but in its apprehension and thought embraces this whole universe as its own. We have seen and derided the folly of such ; whose keepers have tyed them in a nooz of stravy only ; or some slender thread : and yet they have stood as if they vvere shackl'd in fetters of iron : such a kind of madnesse is this of ours ; vwho by the vain bond of opinion are restrain'd to a certain part of earth. But to omit these stronger vvayes of reasoning  
(in

(in regard I fear you are not yet able to concoct them) I shall adde this farther. Suppose that some god should promise you, that during this vvar, your fields should be untouch'd; your house and mony safe, and your self set on some mountains top, folded in one of *Homers* clouds: vould you grieve still? I vwill not say it of you, but there are a sort of men, that vould even rejoice, and greedily feed their eyes vvith the confused slaughter of dying men. What do you deny this, or seem to vvonder at it? I tell you there is a kind of inbred malice in the disposition of mankind; vvich as the old Poet speakes

*Joyes at another mans calamities.*

'And as there are a sort of Apples, vvich to the tast are sweetly lovvre: such are other mens perplexities vvhen our selves are secure. Set me but a man on such a shore of the Ocean

## Chap. 9. of Constancy. 49

Ocean where he may behold a Ship-  
vrack, he vwill possibly be affected,  
but not without a certain pleasing ti-  
tillation of the Mind; as one that be-  
holds other Mens extremities with-  
out his own: But place the same  
Man in the same endangered Ship,  
and then hee'l grieve (Ile varrant  
ye) after another fashion. It is the  
same here when we have said and  
done all that we can: And we do  
bevvaille our own Miseries truly and  
unfeignedly; while we lament those  
that are publick only to be talk'd of;  
or because it is a custom. Excellent-  
ly *Pindar*

*Our own misfortunes when they light  
they wound us very near,  
But let another feel the spite  
Our hearts are quickly clear.*

Wherefore at the last *Lipsius*, dravy  
aside this Scenick Tapestry, fold up  
this Veile of the Stage, and without

Simulation, shew us your self in the  
Genuine Countenance of your own  
Grief.

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## C H A P. X.

*A Complaint of Langius his so liberall  
Reproof. That it is the part of a Phi-  
losopher. Endeavours of refuting  
what was before said. Our Obliga-  
tion and Love to our Country.*

**T**His first Skirmish seem'd to me  
somevvhath sharp, and therefore  
interposing, vvhat kind of Liberty (said  
I) or rather, vvhat sharpness of speech  
is this? You are so smart that I may  
vvell call unto you vvith *Euripides*,

*Addē not affliction to a Soul distressed,  
I am already bnt too much oppressd.*

*Lang-*



## Chap. 10. of Constancy.

51

*Langius* smiling, and what said he do you then expect at my hands, Waters or Muscadell? It is not long since you call'd for the sharpest Methods of Chirurgery; And rightly, for you hear a Philosopher *Lipsius* and not a Minstrel; whose design is to teach, not to entertain, to profit, and not to please. I had rather you should blush and be asham'd, than laugh: and that you should repent rather than triumph. The School of a Philosopher, O yea Men (said *Rufus* of old) is the shop of a physician, vvhhereunto Men haften for health and not for Divertisement. This Physician neither flatters nor smooths up any, but pierces, tents, and searches the wound, and vvith a kind of sharp Salt of Speech, scoures away that Scurfe that cleaves to our Minds. And therefore *Lipsius* dream not (no not hereafter) of Roses, Pulse, and Poppyes, but of Thorns and Poyntards, of Worme-wood and Vinegar.

D 2

But

But said I *Langius* (if I may say it) you deal with me in an ill and malicious manner: Nor do you as a skilfull vyrafter cast me upon a right lock; but supplant me by a cheat. In a counterfeited manner (say you) we lament our Country. Do I? It is not so. For to grant you this (as one that means ingeniously) that I have therein a respect unto my self, yet not unto my self alone. For I do lament *Langius*, I do lament my Country in the First place, and I will lament it, although in the midst of its hazzards, there should be no danger to me. And that upon the justest grounds, for this is she which hath entertain'd, foster'd, and nourish'd me; and is according to the common sence of Nations our most Reverend and Venerable Parent. But in the mean time you assign me the whole Universe as my Country. Who doubts it? But yet even your self will confess, that besides this vast and common one, I have another  
more

## Chap. 10. *of Constancy.* 53

more limited and peculiar Country ; unto vvhich by a certain secret bond of Nature I have a nearer Obligation. Unless you do imagine that there is no force in our being swath'd and suckl'd in that our Native soil, vvhich vve have first greeted vwith this Body of ours ; and first set foot upon, vvhose Air vve have breath'd ; in which our Infancy hath cri'd, our Childhood play'd, and in vvhich our youth hath been educated and trained up. Where the Skies and Rivers, and Fields are familiar with our eyes : wherein in a continued order, are our Kindred and Friends, and Associates : and so many other invitations unto Joy ; as vve in vain hope to meet vwith in any other place of the Earth. Nor are these tyes ( as you seem to assert ) from the slender threads of Opinion , but from the strong Chains of Nature it self. Go to the Creatures themselves and behold the vvildest among them do love and own the

places vvhhere they lodge, and the Birds their Nests. The very Fishes themselves, in that vast and boundless Ocean, do yet delight in the enjoyment of some certain part of it. For what should I speak of Men? Who vvwhether they are civiliz'd or still in Barbarisme; are yet so glew'd to their Native Earth, that whosoever is a Man will never doubt to dye for, and in it. And therefore *Langius* this new and rigid Wisdom of yours, (for the present) I neither embrace nor comprehend, I am rather the Disciple of *Eu-ripides* more truly affirming, that

*Necessity it self commands  
All Men to love their Native Lands.*

## C H A P. XI.

*The Second Affection of too much Love to our Country refuted. That it is falsely call'd Piety. As also whence this Affection hath its Original. What is properly and truly our Country.*

**L** *Angius* smiling at this discourse; Young Man (said he) your Piety is v wonderful, and now it concernes the Brother of *Marcus Antonius* to look after his Sir-name. Notwithstanding it falls out vwell, that this Affection doth so readily present it self and advance before its colours, vy which I had before determin'd to charge and to overthrow with some light endeavour. But in the first place I must seize upon as spoil that very beautiful Garment wherewith it hath unhappily attyr'd it self: For this Love

unto our Country is commonly call'd Piety; vvhich for my part as I do not understand, so neither am I able to endure. For how comes it to be Piety? Which I acknowledge to be an excellent Virtue, and properly nothing else but A LAWFUL, DUE, HONOUR AND LOVE TO GOD, AND OUR PARENTS. With vvhat Fore-head now doth our Country seat it self in the midst of these? Because say they it is that vvhich is our most Ancient and Reverend Parent. Ah silly Souls! And herein injurious not only to Reason but also unto Nature it self. Is that a Parent? Upon vvhat account, or in vvhat respect? For I profess I see not, if you *Lipsius* are any sharper sighted, help to enlighten me. Is it because it hath entertain'd us (for that you seem'd to insinuate but now) the like hath been done to us often by an Host or Inkeeper. Hath it cherish'd us? So have our Nurses, and those

those Women that, vwhen time vvas,  
bare us too and fro, vvith a farre  
greater tenderneſſe. Hath it nourish'd  
us? This Office it performs daily to  
Beaſts and Trees, and all ſorts of  
Grain, and ſo do alſo thoſe great Bo-  
dies; Heaven, Air and VVater, as  
vvell as the Earth. To conclude,  
transport your ſelf, and any other  
ſoil vvill performe the ſame. Theſe  
are frothy light vvords, from vvhich  
nothing can be extracted beſides a  
certain vulgar and unprofitable juice  
of Opinion. Thoſe are indeed our  
Parents, vvho have conceiv'd, begot,  
and gone vvith us; to vvhom vve are  
ſeed of their ſeed, blood of their  
blood, and fleſh of their fleſh. Of all  
vvhich if there is any thing vvhich in  
any degree of compariſon, may be  
fitly ſpoken of our Country: I am  
willing that all my attempts, a-  
gainſt this kind of Piety, ſhould prove  
but loſt labour. But (ſay you) there  
are many learned and great Men, vvho  
every

every vvhere have spoken after this fashion. I acknowledge it, but it vvvas then vvhen they had respect to Fame only, not to truth; vvvhich if you vvill follow, you shall restore back that Sacred and August Name unto God; or (if you please) to your Parents, and command this Affection (vvhen it is corrected) to be contented vvith the honest name of Charity. But thus far concerning the name only, let us now consider the thing; vvvhich truly I shall not vvholly remove, but moderate, and pare (as it vvvere) vvith the Pen-knife of Right Reason. For as the Vine unless you prune it, vvill very vvvidely extend it self: So vvill those Affections more especially, vvvhose Sails are swell'd vvith any gust of popularity. And I readily confels to you *Lipsius* (for I have not so put off at once, both the Man and the Citizen) that there is in every one of us, a kind of inclination and Love to this lesser country of ours:  
the



the causes and Original of vvhich I perceive are not so clearly understood by you. For you vwill have it to be from Nature, vvhereas it is indeed from a kind of usage and Custome. For after that Men from that rude and solitary life, vvere forc'd from the Fields into Towns, and began to build Houses and Fortifications, to grow into Societies, and informed Bodies, to make or repell invasions: From that time there did of necessity commence amongst them, a kind of Communion and Partnership as to divers things. They together possess'd such a part of Earth vvith such and such limits: They had their Temples, Market-places, Treasuries and Courts of Judicature in Common; and (vvhich is the principal bond) their Rites, Statutes, and Lawes. Which things yet our covetousnes, did so begin to love and care for (nor did it therein altogether erre) as its own peculiar. For there is indeed

deed unto every particular Citizen, a true right as to those things, nor do they farther differ from private possessions than in this, that they are not the propriety of any Person alone. Now that Community doth expresse (as it were) a kind of forme and face of a new State, which we call a Commonwealth, and the same thing (properly) our Country. In which when Men did understand how much of moment there was in reference to the safety of every particular Person, there were then also Lawes made concerning the improvement and defence of it, or at least a Custome derived from our Ancestours, which hath the force of a Law. Hence it comes to pass, that we rejoyce in its advantages, and grieve in its Calamities: Forasmuch as in very deed our private substance is safe, in the safety of it, and perishes in the devastations of it. Hence is charity or Love towards it, which our Ancestours

## Chap. ii. of Constancy. 61

cestours (upon the account of the publick good, vvhhereunto also a certain secret providence of God doth attract us) have encreased, vvhile they endeavour'd in every of their vvords and deeds to advance the Majesty of their Country. This Affection therefore in my Opinion is from Custom, but if from Nature (as you did lately insinuate) vvhat is the reason that it diffuseth not it self into all alike, and in equal measure? Why do the Nobility and vvealthier sort love and care for their Country more, and the vulgar and meaner sort less? Whom you may behold (for the most part) full of their own cares vvith a palpable neglect of the publick, vvvhich yet doth most certainly fall out otherwise in every such Affection as proceeds from the peremptory injunctions of Nature. To conclude, vvhat reason vvill you assigne why so light an occasion should oftentimes diminish or remove it? See how this man Revenge, a second Love,

Love, and others Ambition hath allur'd from their Country; and in our dayes how many hath the God *Mammon* in the same manner seduced? How many *Italians* are there; who quitting *Italy* the Queen of Countrys for gain alone have transported themselves into *France*, *Germany*, yea into *Sarmatia* and there fixed their habitations? How many thousand *Spaniards*, doth Avarice and Ambition yearly draw into remote Lands and of a different Climate? Certainly a great and strong proof; that this vvhole Obligation is but external and Opinionative; seeing some one or other Lust can vvith that facility dissolve or break it. But you erre also to purpose *Lipsius*, in the bounding of that Country, for you restrain it to that Native soil of ours vvherein vve have settled; and whereupon we have walk'd, and such other things as you rinkle with a vain sound of Words. For you will seek in vain from thence  
the

## Chap. 11. of Constancy.

63

the Natural causes of this Love. For if only our Native soil may challenge that name, then only *Bruxells* is my Country, *Isca* thine, a Cottage or a Hut vwill be some other Mañs: Yes there are many that vwill not have so much as a Cottage for theirs, but must seek it in the Woods or open Fields. Shall then my love and care be shut up vwithin such narrow limits? Shall I embrace and defend this Village or that House as my Country? You are sensible of the absurdities; and Oh how happy (according to your determination in these matters) are those Wood-men and Rusticks, whose Native soile is ever in its flourish, and almost beyond all the hazzards of Calamity or Ruine! But certainly that is not our Country; No, but (as I said before) some one State, and as it vv ere a common Ship under one Lord, or under one Law; VVhich if you vwill have (of right) to be beloved by its Natives; I shall  
con-

confels it : If to be defended I shall  
acknowvledge it, If death to be un-  
dergone for its sake, I shall not be a-  
gainst it; but shall never yield to that  
that vve should also grieve, be cast  
down, lament,

*If once our Country for it cry  
'Tis sweet and glorious then to dye.*

Said the Poet of *Venusia* vvith the  
loud applause of the vvhole Theatre,  
but then he said to dye, not to vveep.  
For vve ought so to be good Citi-  
zens, as that vve may also be good  
Men; vvich vve cease to be, as  
oft as vve decline to the ejulations  
and laments of Children or Women. Fi-  
nally, *Lipsius*, I impart that to you vvich  
is lofty, and knowvn but to some few.  
That these are vain and counterfeit  
Countrys, if you consider the whole  
Man. That possibly for the Body  
there may be one found out here,  
but not any for the Soul, vvich de-  
scending

## Chap: 11. of Constancy. 65

scending from that celestial and upper Region hath the whole Earth as its Prison and place of restraint; while Heaven is its true and proper Country. After which let us breath that with *Anaxagoras* vve may Cordially reply to the Sottish Multitude as oft as it shall ask, hast thou no care of thy Country? There is my Country pointing at once vvith our Fingers and Minds unto Heaven.

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## CHAP. XII.

*The third Affection which is Commiseration rectified to indulge it over much, a Vice. Its difference from Mercy. How and with what respects it is to be admitted.*

**T**HIS Discourse of *Langius* withdrew (methought) a Cloud from my understanding; and, my Father (said I) you still better me both by your reproofs and instructions. So that (methinks) I am now able to keep under that Affection which respects the place and state in which, but not as yet that which respects the Men themselves amongst whom I have been bred. For how is it possible that the losses of my Country should not touch and deeply affect me for my Country-mens and Companions sakes, who are toss'd in the Ocean



## Chap. 12. of Constancy.

67

Ocean of these Calamities, or perish by a different and unhappy Destiny.

*Langius* interrupting me; but this *Lipsius* said he is not properly Grief, but Pitty; which yet it self is to be despis'd, by a wise and constant Person. For nothing is more suitable to such a one than firmness and strength of Mind, which cannot be, in case not only his own, but also anothers Calamity shall overturn and discompose him. Here I interrupted him, and vvhhat Thornes of the *Stoicks* are these said I? Do you forbid me to pitty too? Yet this is look'd upon as a Virtue by all good Men; at least amongst us vvhó are season'd vvith the true Religion and Piety.

*Langius* immediately, but I said he do forbid it, and if I shall remove this sickness from the Minds of Men; there is no Man who is really good that vvill resent it amiss. For it is certainly a sickness, nor is he far distant from misery, whoever he is that pit-

ties one who is miserable. As it is a signe of a vweak and bad Eye to grow Blood-shot at the sight of one that is so: So is it of a vweak Mind to grieve at the sight of one that grieves. Pitty is rightly defin'd, **THE VICE OF A SLENDER AND MEAN MIND FAINTING AT THE APPEARANCE OF ANOTHERS MISFORTUNE.** What then? Are vve so rigid and severe as not to suffer that any should be mov'd or affected wvith the grief of another? Yes, to be affected I approve, but therit it must be so as to assist, not so as to lament. I am for Mercy, but not for Pitty. For thus I am willing to distinguish at this time, and a while to recede from our Porch the better to instruct. I call Mercy **AN INCLINATION OF THE MIND TO LIGHTEN THE POVERTY OR ANGUISH OF ANOTHER.** This is that Virtue *Lipsius* which you discover as it  
vvere

## Chap. 12. of Constancy. 69

were through a mist, and in vvhich Pitty creeps to, and imposes upon you. But you vvill say it is Humanity to be affected vvith Pitty and compassion: Be it so; yet is it not therefore right. Suppose you that there is any Virtue in the Effeminacy and stoopage of the Mind? In Sighs, or Sobbs, or in the mingling of broken and disjoynted vvords with a Mourner? You are mistaken. If you think not, I can produce a sort of covetous old Women and some lordid *Euclio's* from whose Eyes it is much more easie to extract a thousand Tears, than one single Penny from their Purfes. But now that truly mercifull Man (of vvhom I have been speaking) he vvill not indeed be pittiful; but yet he vvill performe the same, or better Offices, than he that is so. He will behold other mens Evils with a humane, but yet with a right Eye. He will discourse with the Sufferers, with a serious, but not

vwith a mournfull or dejected Countenance. He vwill comfort courageously, he will assist liberally, and vwill do more nobly, than he vwill speak, and vwill more readily lend his hand than vwords to a necessitous or fallen Man. And all these things he vwill performe vwith Caution and Circumpection; lest as in some very mischievous Contagion; the Disease of another should transference it self to him: Or lest (as they say of Gladiatours) a wound surprize him through anothers side. What is there here (I beseech you) of severe and rigid? and such is the whole Body of Wisdom; vvhich to them that look upon it at a distance, seems to be sterne and lowring: But as many as make nearer approaches, it is found to be so gentle and complaisant, as that the Goddess of Love her self is not more amicable and obliging. But enough of these three Affections; vvhich I have partly put to the soyle  
vwithin

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within you; it will prove of no inconsiderable advantage to me, in the rest of the Combate.

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### C H A P. XIII.

*These Impediments remov'd, Publick Evils themselves are seriously considered. Four Arguments propounded against them. Of Providence; that it is interested in, and presides over all humane affairs.*

**I** Come now at length from our Velitation to a true and serious fight, and laying aside these light and jocular Armes, unto such vveapons as shall finally decide the matter. I shall lead up my Souldiers and Forces in Order; and range them under their several Ensignes, vvhich

I also forme into Four Squadrons. The First, shall evince that publick evils are sent unto, and dispers'd amongst us by God himself. The Second, that they are necessary, and from Fate. The Third, that they are advantageous to us. And the last, that they are neither over-pressive nor new. Now if these Forces of mine shall, from their several Posts, dextrously charge and recharge; shall all the powers of your Grief dare any further to resist, or so much as to face me? They dare not. I have conquer'd, and with this Omen, let the Signal be given. Whereas therefore *Lipsius* all those Affections vvhich do so variously rush upon, and disturb the life of Man, do spring from a distemper'd Mind: So also (in my Opinion) doth that Grief especially vvhich vve espouse upon the publick account. For vvhereas the rest of the Affections have some end and scope as it were; (as the Lover to enjoy,

enjoy, the Angry to revenge, the covetous to heap up, and so in the rest) to this alone you shall find nothing proposed besides it self. But lest my discourse should be too loose and forward; I shall curbe and restrain it within this compass. You lament you say your falling Country. But to what end I beseech ye? For what hope you, or what do you expect thereby? Is it that thou mayest repair it in its decayes, and underprop it where it yields? Or is it that by grieving you may keep off that Plague and mischief under which your Country labours? None of all these: It is only that you may use that thredbare saying, it troubles me; as to any thing else this lamentation is but vain and unprofitable. For it concernes a thing past; which to recover again, and to render undone; the Gods themselves would not have it in their own power. But is your Grief only vain? Yes, possibly it is  
im-

impious also, if you shall rightly consider it. For (as you know) there is an eternal Mind which we call God, which Rules, Orders and Governs the lasting Orbs of Heaven; the different courses of the Stars; the interchangeable variations of the Elements; and (in a word) all things whatsoever, as well above as below us. Suppose you that any Chance or Fortune bare rule in this beautiful Body of the World? Or that humane affairs are hurried on, and blended together by a rash and blind impetuosity? I know you do not believe it; nor doth any other, who hath any thing (not to say) of Wisdom, but Sobriety. For it is the Voice of Nature, I say of Nature, and wheresoever you shall turne your Eye or Mind: Things Mortal and Immortal, Superiour and Inferiour, Animate or Inanimate, they all speak out and proclaim, that there is something above us, which hath created  
and



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and made those so wonderful, so great, and so numerous things; and being so created and made, doth also still continue to direct, and preserve them. This now is God, to whose superexcellent and most perfect Nature, there is nothing more agreeable, than that he should be at once both able and willing to undertake the Care and Guardianship of all that he hath made. And how shall he not be willing who is the BEST? Or how should he not be able who is the GREATEST? So farr are any forces from being superiour to his, that all are Derivative from him. Nor doth this vastness or variety of things either molest, or remove him from their inspection: For that eternal light doth every way emit its rayes, and with one and the same dint (as I may say) doth pierce all the retirements and Abysses of Heaven, Earth, and Sea. Nor doth this Divinity only preside over all things,  
but

but it abides vwith; yea resides vwith-  
in them. Why do ye vvonder at  
this? What a part of the World doth  
this Sun at once Survey, and inlight-  
en? What a Mass of things doth this  
Mind of ours vwith one thought em-  
brace and compass? And fooles that  
vve are do vve not believe that more  
things can be seen into, and com-  
prehended by him vvho hath created  
and made this very Sun, and Mind?  
*Excellently, or rather Divinely said he,*  
*Who hath not said much in matters*  
*Divine, I mean Aristotle; what the Pi-*  
*lot (saith he) is in the Ship; the Chario-*  
*tcer in the Chariot; the chief Chaunter*  
*in the Quire; the Law in a City; or a*  
*General in the Army: Such is God in*  
*the world, with this only difference,*  
*that to them indeed their Government*  
*is laborious, toylsome, and perplexing;*  
*but that of Gods is without Grief or*  
*Labour, and severed from all Bodily*  
*pains-taking. There is therefore in*  
*God, Lipsius, there vvas, and shall be*  
that

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that very vwatchfull, and active care (yet a care vvhich is secure) vvhereby he looks into, visits, and knowes all things; and doth guide and govern them so known, in an immovable, and (to us) incomprehensible Order. Now this is that vvvhich I here call Providence; of vvvhich there are not a few, vvvhoe through vvveakness may complain, none that can doubt, unless they are such as have stopp'd their Ears, and hardned themselves against every voice, and the very sense of Nature it self.

## CHAP. XIV.

*Nothing done here below but by the Providence of God. Calamities upon People and Cities from thence. It is not therefore piously done to complain of, or lament them. An Exhortation to obey God, with whom it is vanity and rashness to contend.*

**W**HICH if you have thoroughly imbib'd, if you do in good earnest and from your heart believe that this Governing Power doth thus insert and insinuate it self, and (to speak vvith the Poet)

— *Doth when it please  
Pass through all Lands and Seas:*

I do not see vvhat further place there can be for your Grief or complaint. For that very provident Being  
vvhich

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vvhich daily moves and turnes about this Heaven, vvhich leads forth and recalls the Sun; vvhich discloses and shuts up all sorts of fruits: hath brought to the Birth all those changes and vicissitudes vvhich you do either repine, or vvonder at. Do you think that only pleasant or profitable things are sent to us from Heaven? Yes, those also that are sad and distastefull are from thence: Nor is there any thing at all in this grand frame of the World, vvhich is transacted, discomposed or confounded (sin only excepted) vvwhose cause and original proceeds not from that first cause: *Pindar* said vvell,

*In Heaven they are that do  
Dispense to us below.*

There is (as it vvwere) a certain golden Chain let down from above (as *Homer* gives it us in a Fable) unto vvvhich all these interiour things  
are

are fastned. That there, an opening of the Earth hath swallow'd up some Townes; it is from Providence. That the Pestilence elsewhere hath mowed down so many thousands of Men; is from the same. And that Warre and Slaughter is amongst the *Belgians*; is from the very same. It is from Heaven, Heaven *Lipsius*, that all these Calamities are sent, and therefore they are aptly and vvisely styl'd by *Euripides*

—— Calamities  
Sent by the Dieties.

Every Ebbe and Flow ( I say ) of humane affaires depends upon that Moon; and the Rise and Sett of Kingdomes upon that Sun. As oft therefore as you give scope to your Grief, and seem to resent it, that your Country is thus harra's'd, and overturn'd; You do not so much as consider, either vvho you are that  
repine

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repine, or against vvhom your murmurs are directed. What are you? A Man, a shaddow, Dust. And against vvhom do you murmur (I tremble to speak it) against God himself. It vvas the fiction of Antiquity; that certain Giants did attempt to dethrone the Gods. To omit Fables, you Complainers are those Giants. For if all these things are not only by the permission, but also by the immission of Almighty God: You vvho fret and resist, vvhat do you but (as much as in you lyes) seise his scepter, and intrench upon the prerogative of his Empire? Blind Mortality! The Sun, Moon, Starrs, Elements, and all the successive Orders of Creatures, do vvillingly obey, and submit themselves to this Supreme Law; only the Noblest piece of the Creation, Man lifts up his heel against, and replies upon his Creator. Had you hoisted Sailes into the jurisdiction of the Winds, you  
F must

must then go not vvhither you vwould but vvhither they list. And shall you in the Ocean of this life refuse to follow the conduct of that Spirit by vvhom the vvhole Universe is sway- ed? In vain notwithstanding is this refusal, for either you shall vvvilling- ly follow, or be forc'd along; and those Heavenly decrees shall preserve their Efficacy, and Order, vvhether you shall comply or rebel. We should smile at that Man vvhho having ty'd his Boat to some Rock, and pulling at the Cord, should rather think he pulls the Rock to him than that his boat moves to it: And is not our Folly every vway as remarkable, vvhho being chain'd to that Rock of Eternal Pro- vidence, do yet by our struggling and resistance seem to desire that it should obey us, rather than vve it? Let us free our selves at the last from these Vanities; and (if vve are vvhise) let us follow that Power vvhich attracts us from above, and think it nothing but equal



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equal that vvhatssoever is pleasing to God, should (for that very reason) be so also to Man. The Souldier in the Camp upon Notice of a March, gets on his knap-sack; but if it sound to Armes, he layes it aside, as one vvith his Mind, and Eyes, and Ears, is intent upon, and prepared for any command. Let it be thus vvith us, and in this Warfare of ours, let us chearfully and resolvedly March after our General, vvich vvay soever he shall command us. *We are sworn to this, saith Seneca, to endure such things as Mortality is liable to; and not to be disturbed in case some things fall out, which it is not in our power to prevent. We are born in a Kingdom, and to obey God is Liberty it self.*

## CHAP. XV.

*The Second Argument for Constancy, drawn from Necessity. Its force and Efficacy. Necessity deriv'd from two Grounds; and first, from the things themselves.*

**T**His *Lipsius* is a firme and well temper'd Shield, against all external Evils. These are those golden Armes with which being cover'd, *Plato* would have us to fight against Chance and Fortune, to be subject to God, to think upon him, and in all kind of Events, to bend this Mind of ours, unto that great Mind of the World, I mean Providence, whose pious and fortunate forces, forasmuch as I have already made sufficient proof of; I shall now draw forth and lead up another Squadron, which marches under the Standard of necessity.

A

## Chap. 15. of Constancy. 85

A valiant, stout, and Steel temper'd Squadron it is; and such as I may not unfitly compare to that Legion which the Romans call'd *Fulminatrix*: The stubborn and unbroken force of it is such, as doth conquer and subdue all things, and I shall wonder *Lipsius* if you should be able to resist it. *Thales* when one ask'd him what was the strongest, answered rightly, necessity; for that Conquers all things. There is an old saying too, about the same thing; although not so advised, that the Gods themselves cannot force necessity. This necessity I annex to Providence, because of its near relation to it; or to speak truly, because it is born of it. For this necessity is from God, and his decrees; nor is it any other thing than as the Greek Philosopher hath defin'd it: A FIRME SANCTION AND IMMUTABLE POWER OF PROVIDENCE. Now that it doth interweave and

twist it self vvith publick Eyils; I shall evince two vvayes, from things themselves; and from Fate. From things themselves, because it is the Nature of all created beings, to hasten unto their change and fall, from a certain inward proneness, vvhich they have thereunto. As there is a kind of fretting rust, vvhich doth naturally cleave to Iron, and a consuming scurffe or Worme that followes Wood: In like manner both Creatures, Cities, and Kingdomes, have their internal and proper causes vvhereby they perish. Look upon things above or below, great or small, the vvorkes of the Hand or Mind; they have perished from the first Ages; and shall persist so to do unto the last. And as all Rivers journey towards the Ocean vvith a prone and hasty current: So all humane things slide along by this Channel (as I may call it) of misery, unto their utmost periods.

That

That Period is Death and destruction; and thereunto Pestilence, vvarr, and Slaughter are as subservient instruments: So that if Death is necessary to these things, upon the same Ground are Calamities also. That this may appear to you the more evidently by Examples: I shall not refuse for a vvhile to enlarge my thoughts and travel vvith you through this great universe.

## C H A P. XVI.

*Instances of Necessary Mutation and Death throughout the whole VVorld. The Heavens and Elements change, and shall pass away. The same is discernable in Cities, Provinces, and Kingdomes. All things here are wheel'd about, and nothing is stable or firme.*

**T**Here is an eternal Law vvhich from the beginning hath equally passed upon every thing in this vvorld, that it shall be Born and Dye; Rise and Set. Nor vvould the great Moderatour of things, have any thing firm and stable besides himself.

*From Age and Death only the Gods are free,  
The rest of things under Times sickle bc.*

Cryes

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Cryes out the Tragical Poet. All those things, vvhich you behold and vvonder at, do either perish in their courses; or are certainly changed. Do you see that Sun? He is sometimes eclipsed: The Moon? She suffers in the like kind, and has her vvaines. The Starrs? They shoot and fall; and howsoever the vvrit of Man may seek to palliate and excuse the matter; Yet there have and vvill be such accidents amongst those celestial Bodies; as may pose the skill, and stagger the Minds of the ablest Mathematician. I omit to speak of Commets of various Form, and different Situation and Motion; concerning vvhich, that they all have their Birth from, and Motion in the Air, is a thing vvhich Philosophy it self cannot easily perswade me to believe. But behold (of late) there are certain new kinds of Motion and Starrs found out, vvhich have cut out vvork for the Astrologers. There arose

a Starr in this very year, whose increment and decreases were thoroughly observ'd; and we then saw (what will scarcely be believ'd) that in Heaven it self, there may be something Born and Dye. Behold even *Varro* in *St. Augustine* cries out and asserts, that the Planet *Venus* which *Plautus* calls *Vesperugo* and *Homer* ἑσπερίη, hath chang'd its colour, magnitude, figure, and motion. Next to the Heavens look upon the Air, it is daily changed, and passes into vvinds, Clouds, or showres. Look to the vvaters, and those Rivers and springs which vve call everlasting: Some are lost, and others have altered their course, and found out new Channels. The Ocean it self that great and abstruse part of Nature, is sometimes swell'd vvith stormes, and at others smooth'd vvith calmes, and though those stormes were not, yet it hath its own Ebbs and Flowes; and to convince us that it may totally



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tally perish; It doth daily increase or decrease in its parts. Look now upon the Earth vvhich alone some vvould have immoveable; and to stand by its own strength: Behold there it totters, and is shaken into a palsy fit, by the struggling of those vapours that are pent up in the Bowels of it, and elsewhere it is corrupted by Waters or Fires. For even these are at contest vvith one another; and that you may not resent it over deeply, that there are vvarrs amongst Men: The very Elements have theirs also. How many Countreyes, hath a sudden Deluge, or inundation of the Sea, either lessen'd, or intirely swallowed up. Of old that great Island *Atlantis* (for I think it no Fable) afterwards *Helice* and *Bura*: And (that vve may not have recourse only to ancient and remote times) amongst us *Belgians* (in the Memory of our Fathers) two Islands; together vvith their Townes,  
and

and inhabitants. Even at this very day that blew Deity, is forcing open to it self new creeks; and daily frets and vveares away the unfaithfull shores of the *Frisians* and *Hollanders*. Nor doth the Earth her self alvvayes give vway by a Womannish sloth; but doth sometimes vindicate its losses, and in the midst of the Sea frames Islands for its self; to the vvonder and displeasure of that hoary god. Now if those great ( and in our imagination eternal ) Bodies, are destined to their destruction and change; what shall vve think of Cities, Common-wealths, and Kingdomes; which must needs be as mortal as the founders of them? As particular persons have their Youth, Maturity, Old-Age, and Death: So these, they rise, grow, stand, flourish; and all these to that very purpose that they may fall. In the reign of *Tiberius* one single Earth-quake overthrew twelve  
fa-

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famous Cities of *Asia*, and another did the like to as many Townes in *Campania*, in the reign of *Constantine*; and one vvarre of *Attila* more than an hundred. Fame scarce retains the ancient *Thebes* of *Egypt*, and vve scarce believe the hundred Cities of *Creet*. But let us come to more receiv'd instances. The ancients have seen and vvondered at the Ruines of *Carthage*, *Numantia* and *Corinth*, As vve do at the ignoble, inglorious rubbish of *Athens*, *Sparta*, and those other once renowned Cities. That Lady of Sovereignty, and Queen of Nations falsely Styled the Eternal City, vvhere is it? Overturned, Rased, Burnt, overwhelmed: She has undergone more than a single Fate, and is at this Day curiously sought for, but not to be found vvhere she formerly stood. You see that *Constantinople* proud of its being the Seat  
of

of a double Empire : And *Venice* that glories in its continuance for a thousand years ? Their Fate attends them. And thou also our *Aantwerpe* the Eye of Cities, there vwill come a time when thou shalt be no more. For that great Architect pulls down and sets up, and (if vve may say it) doth even sport himself in the affairs of this World : And as a Potter at his pleasure, doth mold and unmake divers forms and representations out of this Clay. I have hitherto discour's'd only of Townes and Cities ; but even Kingdomes also and Provinces are dragg'd unto the same destiny. In old time the East flourish'd ; *Assyria*, *Egypt*, and *Judea* vvere famous for Arts and Armes ; that happiness of theirs hath pals'd over into *Europe*, and even she methinks ( as Bodies upon the approach of a Disease ) trembles and seems to have some sore apprehensions of her great fall. That vvhich vve may more (though  
never

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never sufficiently ) wonder at ; this World which hath been inhabited this Five thousand and Five hundred years, doth now grow old, and that we may again applaud, the old exploded Fable of *Anaxarchus* ; there arise now elsewhere, and are born new Men, and a new World. O the wonderful and incomprehensible Law of Necessity ! All things turn about in this Fatal Circle of beginning and ending : and there may be something in this whole frame that is long liv'd ; but nothing that is Eternal. Lift up your Eyes ; and look round vvith me ( for I am not vvilling as yet to desist ) and contemplate the alternate courses of humane affaires ; not unlike the Eb-bings and Flowings of the Sea. Thou shalt arise ; and thou fall : thou shalt command, and thou serve ; be thou obscure and thou glorious ; and let this round of things hastening into themselves, vvhirle about,

as long as the World it self shall endure. Were you *Germans* Savage of old; be ye now civil beyond most of the Nations in *Europe*; were you *Brittons* rude and poor? Do ye now emulate the *Egyptians* and *Sybarites* in riches and luxury. Did *Greece* heretofore flourish? Let her now lye vvaft. Did *Italy* sway the Scepter? She shall now obey. You *Goths*; you *Vandalls*, you refuse of the *Barbarians*; forsake your Dens, and in your successive courses command the Nations. Come hither also you pelted *Scythians*, and for a vvhile, vwith a strong hand, rule both *Asia* and *Europe*: But do you your selves after a vvhile depart, and resigne the Scepter to the Nation bounded by the Ocean. For is it my Fancy only? Or do I indeed descry I know not vvhath Sun of a new Empire arising from the West?

C H A P. XVII.

*Of the Necessity that is from Fate. Fate asserted, the universal assent both of the Learned and of the people to it; though some difference about its parts. How the ancients distinguished of Fate.*

**L**Angius had finished; and this discourse of his had almost drawn Tears from my Eyes, so clearly did it seem to represent those Mockeries that are in humane affairs. Infomuch that I cryed out; Alas! VVhat are even we out selves; or vwhat are all these things we sweat so much in the pursuit of?

*What's he that ha's a brighter Fame?  
Or he that's of Obscure name?  
Man when summ'd at highest, he  
Is but as dreams of Shaddows be?*

G

As

As the Lyrick Poet said truly of old. *Langius* replies; Young Man; Look then upon these things not as above, but beneath you; and labour to establish Constancy in your Mind, by reflecting upon the inconstant and unsteady levity of all things. Inconstant (I say) as to our sense and apprehension of them: but if we respect God and his Providence, than all things succeed in an admirable and immoveable order. For now laying swords aside, I come to my Ensignes, and shall assault that Grief of yours, not with Arrowes, but more formidable inventions. I shall inforce against it the Ramme of Fate, an Ensigne of that strength and firmness; as no humane power or policy shall be ever able either to elude or resist. And howsoever the Ground is slippery enough to endanger a fall: Yet I shall adventure upon it, though with a cautious slowness, and as the Greeks say with a modest foot. In the First place



place therefore, that there is a Fate in things, neither you *Lipsius*, nor (as I conceive) any Nation or Age did ever doubt. Here I interpos'd; pardon me (said I) if as a *Remora* I stop you in this course. Do you oppose me vwith Fate? Weak is this Rammie, *Langius*, and such as is directed by the enervate and languid forces of the Stoicks. I speak freely, I despise at once, both it and the destinies: and vwith the Souldier in *Plautus*, I can blow away this feeble troop vwith a single breath, as vvinds do leaves from the Trees. *Langius* vwith a severe and threatning Eye; Rasth and inconsiderate Young Man (said he) do you imagine you can elude or take away Fate? You cannot, unless together with it, you deny the very Power and Being of a Deity: For if God is, Providence is; if Providence, than a decreed order of things; and if so than a firme and establish'd Necessity of events;

How do you vward this blow? Or vwith vwhat Ax do you sever the Links of this Chain? For vve cannot otherwise conceive of God that eternal Mind; than that there should be in him an eternal knowledge and prevision of things: vvhom vve believe to be fix'd, firme, and immutable, alwaies one and the same; not at all varying, or altering in those things, vvhich he hath once willed, and beheld.

*The Eternal Gods are not inclin'd,  
To variations of the Mind.*

vvhich if you acknowledge to be true (as of necessity you must, unless you have divested your self of all Reason and Sense) you vwill then also acknowledge, that all the decrees of God are firme and immovable from Eternity to Eternity. Now from thence doth Necessity derive it self together vwith that Fate vvhich  
you

## Chap. 17. of Constancy. 101

you so despise. The truth of which is so very obvious and clear; that amongst all sorts of Men, there is not a more ancient or receiv'd Opinion. And look to how many the light of a Deity, and Providence hath shin'd to vvell nigh as many hath this of Fate. Inſomuch that thoſe very ſame privative Fires vvhich diſcovered the knowledge of a God to Men; ſeem alſo to have guided Man in the knowledge of this other. Conſult *Homer* that firſt and vvifeſt of all Poets. There is not any one path vvherein that Divine Muſe hath ſo frequently pals'd and repaſs'd, as this of Fatality: Nor hath the vvhole Race of the Poets diſſented from their Anceſtours. Look upon *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, *Pindar*, and our *Virgil*. Look upon Hiſtorians; their common Language is; ſuch a thing fell out by Fate, and Kingdomes owe their Ruine, and eſtabliſhment to Fate. Look upon Philoſophers,

whose charge it yvas to ransome and defend Truth against the encroachments of the vulgar : Howsoever these have in most other things dissented from one another ; ( transported thereunto, by an over eager itch after contention and dispute ) yet 'tis maryellous to observe , vwhat a Universal accord, there is amongst them as to the beginning of this vway vvhich leads to Fate. I say in the beginning of the vway : For I am not about to deny , but that soon after it vvas trod out into divers paths. All vvhich notwithstanding seem to be reducible to these four, Mathematical , Natural , Violent and true Fate. Each of these I shall briefly explain , and ( as it yvere ) set a foot in each : Forasmuch, as commonly much of confusion, and error doth arise from hence.

C H A P. XVIII.

*The three First kinds of Fate briefly explained. The description of them. The Stoicks in part excused.*

**M**Athematical Fate I call that, which chaines and fastens all Actions and Events vyhatsoever, unto the influences of the Starrs, and the Positions of Heaven. Of vvhich the *Chaldeans* and *Astrologers* vvere the First Authors; and amongst the Philosophers that profound and sublime vvriter *Mercurius Trismegistus*; vvhose subtilly and not altogether idly, distinguishing of Providence, Necessity, and Fate; hath these vvords. *Providence (saith he) is the perfect, and absolute Counsel of the Heavenly God; to which there are two faculties nearly ally'd; Necessity, and Fate. Fate doth administer, and is subservient at one*

and the same time, both to Providence and Necessity; and the Stars are subject to Fate. For no man can ev. d: the force of Fate, nor with all his caution prevent the powerful influence of the Starrs. For these are the Artillery, and weapons of Fate, by whose direction they cause and conclude all those things which are in Nature or amongst Men. And in this Ship of Folly are (at this day) embarked; the most of the Astrologers amongst us to the great reproach of Christianity.

Natural Fate; I call such an Order of Natural causes vvhich (unless they are hindred) do by their own Nature, and efficacy produce alwayes a certain and the same effect. *Aristotle* is for such a Fate if vve may credit *Alexander Aphrodisiensis* one of the most Faithful of his Interpreters; and of the like Mind vvas *Theophrastus*; vvhose plainly asserts that Fate is nothing else, but every Mans Nature. Agreeable to those Mens Opinions

## Chap. 18. of Constancy. 105

pinions it is, that a man's begetting a Man, is by Fate; that if a man arrive to his death; by internall causes; without the accession of such as are forreigne, and outward; this is by Fate: On the other-side that a Man begets a Serpent or some other Monster this is not by Fate, neither if he perish by the Sword or Fire. An opinion truly not very peccant; inasmuch as it rises not to the force and height of Fate: And how can that be in danger of falling which never adventures to climb? And such is *Aristotle* almost every vwhere in Divine matters; I except only that little Book of his, *de Mundo*; which is a golden one indeed; and such as seems to me, to be inspired by some other and more heavenly Genius. I read also farther in a Greek Writer; that *Aristotle* was of Opinion: That Fate it self is not a cause, but a certain accidental Mode to the cause; in such things as proceed from Necessity.

firy. O the courage of a Philosopher ! Who durst seriously Number, Fortune and chance amongst the causes, but not Fate. But I pass him, and return to my Stoicks ( for not to dissemble I have a great affection and esteem for that Sect ) vvho are the Authors of violent Fate; vvvhich I define vvith *Seneca*, such a Necessity of all things and actions; as no power is able to interrupt: Or vvith *Chrysippus*; a spiritual power that doth orderly govern this vvhole Universe. Nor are these Definitions very remote from that vvvhich is right and true: if they may have a sound and modest interpretation: As neither is their vvhole Opinion perhaps; vvvere it not that it hath been already murthered by the retorted **T**humbs of the whole hand of the vulgar. These charge them vvith two crimes; that they subject God himself to the disposal of Fate: and that they place also, the internal actions of our vvill, under  
the



## Chap. 18. of Constancy. 107

the same power. Nor will I over-  
confidently undertake to clear them  
of either of these faults. For amongst  
those few of their vvritings vyhich  
are yet extant, there are such, from  
vvhence these Tenents may be col-  
lected; as there are others, from  
vvhence, vvee may receive that  
vyhich is sound and Orthodox. It  
must be confess'd that *Seneca* ( no  
mean Trumpet of that School ) seems  
to dash upon that first Rock, in that  
Book ( vvhere he had least Reason to  
do so ) of Providence. *The same  
Necessity saith he doth bind even the  
Gods themselves, that irrevocable de-  
cree doth equally carry along with it,  
both humane and Divine things. The  
great Creator and Ruler of all things;  
did indced write down this Law of  
Fate: But he followes it himself; and  
ever obeys, what he once commanded.*  
And that indissoluble Chain, and twist  
of causes, vvhereunto they fasten all  
things and Persons, seems ( and that  
not

not Obscurely neither ) to offer violence to the yvill of Man. But the Genuine and true Stoicks, did never openly avouch these things. Or if any such matter, did fall from them ( as it is possible enough ) in their heat of writing and dispute ; you shall rather find it in vwords, than in their sense and meaning. *Chrysippus* himself vvho first corrupted and Enervated that Masculine Sect, vvith the intricate niceness of Questions, he in *Agellius* sufficiently cleares them from attempting upon the liberty of the yvill. Nor doth our *Seneca* subject God to Fate ( he vvvas better advised ) but ( in a certain Mode of speech ) God to God. For those amongst them, vvho came nearest to the truth, do by Fate sometimes understand Providence, and at others, God. And therefore Zeno vvhen he defines Fate to be a power moving the matter according to the same respects, in the  
same

## Chap. 18. of Constancy. 109

same manner, he adds; it matters not, if I had called it, either Providence or Nature. And Chrysippus from the same Principle, doth elsewhere call Fate, the <sup>\*</sup>Eternal purpose of Providence. Now Panetius the Stoick, affirm'd that God himself was Fate; and the same thing is clearly the Opinion of Seneca: You may (saith he) as you please, vary the Title of this Author of things, and Natures: You may lawfully call him, either the best and greatest Jove; or the Thunderer, or the Stayer: Nor for that Reason which Historians assigne; because after a Vow made to him; He stayed the flying Army of the Romans, but he is therefore the Stayer and Establisher, because all things do stand, and consist by his goodness, neither shall you erre, if you call him Fate. For since Fate is nothing else but an implexed series of causes, he is the Principall cause of all things, on which the rest do depend.

Which

Which last vvords are so piously spoken, that even Calumny it self, is not able to calumniate them. Nor did that great vvriter ( unto *Alexander the Great* ) in this at all dissent from the Stoicks. *I conceive ( saith he ) that Necessity, ought not to be call'd any thing else than God, as an unchangeable Nature: And so also Fate it self; because it knits together all things; and is moved and carryed on, without any impediment.* Which Speeches though possibly they may have something in them vvhich is not so advised: Yet they contain nothing that is impious; and by modest interpreters vvill be thought not farr distant from that true Fate, vvhich I am about to assert. The truth is, I do heartily applaud the Stoicks in this: That there is not any Sect, vvhich hath more studiously asserted the Majesty, and Providence of God; or more earnestly endeavoured to incline the Minds of  
Men,

## Chap. 18. *of Constancy.*

111

Men, to things Heavenly, and Eternal, than they. And if in the performance of this fatal Race, they have at any time stumbled: I believe it occasioned, by a good and praise-worthy desire; to recall blind Mortalls from their blind goddess; I mean Fortune, not only whose Deity, but Name too, was by them very manfully exploded.

CHAP.

## C H A P. XIX.

*The Fourth, true Fate explained. Of its Name, its Definition. How it differs from Providence.*

**B**UT I have said enough of the Sentiments and dissents of the ancients, for why should I over curiously or subtilly search into the Mysteries of Hell? my business is with true Fate; this I shall now propound and illustrate. And I here call it, an eternal decree of Providence, which is as inseparable from things, as Providence it self. Nor let any one cavil at the Name; for I do confidently affirm that the Latine language doth not afford any other that is proper to the thing. Did the ancients abuse it? Let us use it nevertheless; and inlarging the word from the Prison of the Stoicks, let us bring it

it forth into a better light. For certainly Fate is derived a *fando* from speaking: Nor is it properly any other than the Divine Sentence and injunction, which is that very thing I here mean by it. For I define the true Fate either with the illustrious *Picus Mirandula*, a Series and Order of Causes depending upon Divine Counsel, or in my own termes (though not so plainly, yet more exactly) an immoveable decree of Providence inherent in things moveable, which surely disposes every of them in its own Order, Place and Time. I call it a decree of Providence; for I am not altogether of the same Mind, with the Divines of our dayes (I crave leave for a free Investigation of Truth) who confound it as well in Name as Thing with Providence itself. I know it is a high and rash presumption to enterprize the comprisal and limitation of that supersubstantial and supercelestial Nature (I

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mean

mean God) or vvhatsoever pertains to him, vvithin the compass of definite Termes: Yet according to our humane capacity; I am sensible that Providence is one thing properly, and this Fate I am speaking of is another. For I apprehend not, nor conceive of Providence any otherwise, than that it is a faculty and power in God, by vvhich he sees, knows and governs all things; such a power ( I mean ) as is universal, undivided, guarded, and as *Lucretius* saith firmly united. But now the notion of Fate, seems rather to descend to things themselves, and in each of them to be observed: That so there may be such a digestion and explication of common Providence, as is distinct and agreeable to its parts. Providence therefore is in God, and is ascribed unto him alone: Fate is in things, and to them it is ascribed. It is possible I may seem to you to trifle, and as ( one saith ) to drill Millet. No

*Lip-*



*Lipsius* I have these things from the common discourses of the Vulgar, amongst whom nothing is more usual than to say, this or that came to pass, by my Good or Evil Fate: This is the Fate of that Kingdom or City. But of Providence no man will speak after this manner: I mean none can attribute it to things themselves without impiety or folly. I have therefore justly said that Providence is in God: Fate is indeed from God, but is understood in things. I add further, that howsoever Providence is really inseparable from Fate; yet it seems to be something more excellent, and superiour to it, as we commonly say in the Schools; the Sun excels Light, Eternity Time; and the intellect Reason. Not to enlarge my self any farther about these serious (though uncommon matters) by what hath passed; you may readily apprehend the Reason of my distinction; as also of my retaining the old

Name, against the new Senate of Divines. For those ancient and heretofore Conscript Fathers; do not at all oppose me, but that I may very freely use this word Fate, in the sound and true notion of it. But to return to the clearing of my Definition, I call'd it an inherent Decree; to shew that Fate is to be observed in those things to which, not in him from whence it comes. I added in moveable things; signifying thereby, that howsoever Fate it self is immovable, yet it doth not destroy the infixed Nature, and proper motion of things but acts in a mild and gentle way, according as those marks and Characters do require which God hath engraven upon every thing: In causes ( I understand second ones ) necessarily, necessarily; in natural ones naturally; in contingent, contingently. In respect therefore of things, it is no way violent or compulsory, but bends and leads on every thing, according as the Nature of it is to do or suffer.

But

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But if you reduce it to its own Original, that is to say to Providence and God : Then I must affirm vvith the greatest Constancy and boldness, that all things vvhich are by Fate, do necessarily come to pass. I added in the last place somewhat of the Order, Time, and Place, confirming vvhat I had before asserted; that Providence is of all things taken together, but Fate is by vvay of distribution of particulars. By Order I understand a Series of Causes vvhich Fate defines. By Place, and Time I understand that vvonderfull and inexplicable power, by vvhich all Events are ty'd to certain circumscriptions of place, and moments of time. Is it the Fate of *Tarquine* to be expell'd his Kingdom? Let it be done, but vvithall let Adultery precede. You see the Order : Is it the Fate of *Cesar* to be slain? Be it so; but be it also in the Senate-house, and at the foot of *Pompey's* Statue. You see

the Place. Shall *Domitian* be murder'd by his Servants? Let him fall, but let it be in that very hour, which he sought in vain to decline, *viz.* the Fifth, you see the time.

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## C H A P. XX.

*Its Difference from the Stoicks Fate; in four respects. That it offers no violence to the will. That God is neither a Copartner in, nor the Author of Evil.*

**A**Re you sufficiently apprehensive of these things young Man, or do you yet stand in need of a further and a clearer light? I (shaking my Head) a clearer *Langius*, a clearer said I, or you will leave me for ever in the midst of this Night. For  
 what

what means the subtil thread of distinctions? What captious snares of questions are these? Believe me, I was in fear of some stratagem; and began to be as suspicious of these your veigh'd and vary vords, as of so many Enemies. *Langius* smiling; you may be confident (said he) no *Hanibal* is here, nor are you fallen into an Ambush, but into a safe place of retreat. I shall very vwillingly enlighten you; declare only vwhere and in what part it is you desire a further satisfaction. There *Langius* (said I) vwhere you speak of force and necessity. For I am not able to apprehend, vvhich vway you disleaver this Fate of yours, from that of the Stoicks. For howsoever you have excluded it in vords, and (as they say) at the Portall; yet in reality and at the Postern, you seem to me to readmit it. *Langius* readily, farr, farr be it from me *Lipsius* said he; I vwould not so much as in my dreams intro-

duce that Fate of the Stoicks; nor do I endeavour to revive those long since expired Beldames the destinies. It is a modest and pious fate I contend for, and which differs from the violent one these four vvayes. The Stoicks subject God to Fate; neither was *Jupiter* himself in *Homer* able to exempt his *Sarpedon* from its bonds, when he earnestly desired it. But we on the contrary subject Fate to God vvhoin vve acknowledge to be a most free Author, and independent Agent in all things: Who vvhenever he pleases can surpasse, and break through all the strengths, and intricate foldings of Fate. They also constitute a Series and Flux of Natural causes from Eternity; vve admit not such a Series of these causes vvithout interruption (for God makes Prodigies, and worketh Miracles, oftentimes besides, yea contrary to Nature) nor can this Series of causes be from Eternity. For Second causes are not Eternal, as having (most certainly) their beginnings vvith that of the world. Thirdly, they

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they seem to have remov'd contingency from things; vve restore it, and as often as second causes are such, vve admit contingency and accident in events. Lastly, they seem to have brought in a violent force upon the Will; this is farr from us, vvho as vve do assert Fate, so vve reconcile it with the Liberty of the Will. For vve so avoid the deceitfull Gust of Fortune and Chance, as that yet vve do not force our Ship upon the Rock of Necessity. Is there Fate? That Fate is the first cause, which is so farr from removing the second and subordinate ones, that ordinarily, and for the most part, it acts not but by them. Now amongst these second causes is the Will, vvhich never believe that God vvill either enforce or destroy. Here is all the Errour, and Cloud in this matter, no Man knowes or thinks that he vvills what Fate vvills, and yet that he vvills it freely. For that God who created all things,

em-

employes those things, without the destruction of them. As the highest Heaven doth so carry along with it all the interior Orbs, as not to stop, or break off the proper motion of any of them: So God by the force of Fate disposes of all things; but destroys not the peculiar power or motion of any of them. Is it his will that Trees, and Fruits should grow? They do so by Nature, without any compulsion. Is it his pleasure that Men should deliberate, and choose? They deliberate without any inforcement, and they choose with their own will. And yet God from Eternity foresaw that very thing in which their choice would determine: But he only foresaw, he did not enforce; he knew, but did not enjoin; he foretold it, but he did not prescribe it. Why stumble our Curioso's at this? Poor wretches! There is no point, that seems to me, to carry a greater evidence of truth with it; were



were it not for that vyantion Mind of ours vvhich ( being infected vvith an evil Itch of wrangling and dispute ) is ever and anon urging and exasperating it self. For ( say they ) if God foresaw that I should sin; and this foresight of his is no vvay to be deceiv'd: How can it otherwise be, but that I should sin Necessarily? I acknowledge it is Necessarily, but not in respect of your Mind; since your own free vvill doth here intervene. For he foresaw that you should sin the same vvay he foresaw; but he foresaw you should do it freely, and therefore of Necessity you must sin freely. Is not this sufficiently clear? But they urge again; that God is the Author of all motions in us. He is indeed ( I confels ) the Author of all motions in common, but the fautor, and favourer of nothing but vvhat is good. Do you prepare your self to an action that is virtuous? He knowes and assists it. Or to one that is vitious? He

He knows, and permits it, nor is he herein chargeable vwith any fault. I ride upon, and spur a dull and lame Horse, that I spur him is from me, that he is dull is from himself. I play upon a Harp that is out of tune, and ill strung: You vwill easily acknowledge, that the discordancy of the instrument is not imputable to me, but to it self. This very Earth doth feed all sorts of Trees and Plants vwith one common juice; and yet some of these bring forth vvhole some Fruits, and some others Poysons. What vwill you here say? That this is from the Earth? Or rather in that inbred Nature of the Trees, which converts the good nourishment, into their own poyson? In like manner it is here: That you move is from God; from your self, and in your self, that you move to Evil. Finally, that I may at last finish my discourse about this Liberty; Fate is as it were the Leader of the Dance, in this Masque of the world: But so  
tha

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that we also have our parts to act, of alwayes vvilling or nilling; but not further of effecting. For it is only a will that is left unto Man whereby he may be desirous to oppugne and resist Gods But he hath not a power whereby he is able. As I may vvalk up and down the Decks and Hatches of a Ship; but this little motion doth not at all avail to hinder its course: So in this fatall Ship, in vvhich vve are all embark'd, though our vvills move this or that vway, they are not able to divert, or put a stop to it. For that supream Will will alwayes hold and manage the reines, and guide this Chariot, with a gentle kind of government.

CHAP.

## C H A P. XXI.

*The Conclusion of the Discourse about Fate; that it is dangerous and doubtful, not curiously to be pry'd into. An exhortation to strengthen our Minds from the consideration of Necessity.*

**B**Ut vvhy should I dwell longer upon these things? I shall now alter my Course, and vvithdraw my self from this *Charybdis* in vvhich the vvits of so many have been swallowed up. I behold here the vvreck of *Cicero* who had rather destroy Providence, than derogate in the least from the freedom of the vvill. Who (as the Bishop of *Hippo* said elegantly) vvhile he made Men Free, made them Sacrilegious. How many even at this day are swimming in this Sea; and at length carry'd away vvith the Waves  
of

## Chap. 21. of Constancy. 127

of disputation. By whose dangers *Lipsius* vve being warned let us rather choose to coast about the Shore, than to hazzard our selves too farr in the depths of this Ocean. *Euclid* to one that ask'd him many things concerning the Gods, made this apposite reply: Other things I know not; but this I know that they hate the curious. Think the same of Fate, which vwill be look'd upon, but not pry'd into; believ'd, but not known. I think it is the saying of *Bias*; of the Gods say that they are, which I may pertinently apply unto Fate, of vvhich I advise you, that it is enough if you knowv it to be: in other matters about it, it is no Sin to be ignorant. That properly belongs to our Province (for I novv return from this intangled path into the old and beaten vway) that you believe there is a Necessity annex'd to publick evils: and that you derive from thence some consolation in your Grievs. What doth it concern you,  
curiously

curiously to enquire about the Liberty or Servitude of the Will? Wretch! Thy *Syracuse* is taken, and thou art drawing lines in the dust. Warr is about thee, Tyranny, Slaughters, Death, which certainly are sent from above, and not at all under the disposal of thy Will. These things you may fear but not prevent: Fly, but not be able to evade. Arme your self therefore against them, and catch up this fatal weapon, which will not only pierce, but kill; not only diminish, but destroy all your Grievs. As if you slightly touch a Nettle it stings; but if hard, it hath no such power: So doth the asperity of your Grief encrease upon you if you ply it with gentle remedies, but gives back in the use of those which are more forcible and severe. Now there is nothing more forcible than necessity; whose first onset doth rout and conquer these feeble troops. For what does your grief aim at? There is no place for it in  
those

## Chap. 21. of Constancy. 129

those things which not only may, but must come to pass. What would your complaints? You may struggle vvith a Yoke vvhich Heaven hath impos'd; but not be able to shake it off.

*By our complaints we hope in vain  
To frustrate what the Gods ordain.*

There is no other evasion of Necessity, than to vvill that which it self will compell. That excellent wise Man said excellently; thou may'st be unconquerable if thou never enter into such a combat, vvherein it is impossible for thee to overcome. And such is the conflict with Necessity, vvhich vvhosoever undertakes, falls under it, and vvhich is the greater wonder, he falls even before the fight.

## C H A P. XXII.

*A pretence for Sloth usually drawn from Fate. Its Detection. Fate acts by second causes, and therefore they not to be idle. How farr we are to help our Country, and when to forbear. The Close of the first Discourse.*

**A**Nd here *Langius* pawfing a little; **A**l cheerfully broke out, and thus interrupted him. If (said I) the wind fhall continue thus to fill the Sail; I fhall quickly arrive at the Haven. For now I dare follow God, I dare obey Necessity, and methinks I may fay vvith *Enripides*:

*Ile rather Sacrifice to mighty Jove  
Than with vain rage combat the powers  
above.*

But



But I am yet tossed vwith the vwave  
of one troubled thought, and this *Langius*  
I pray you calme: For if publick  
Evils are from fate, and that can nei-  
ther be overcome nor avoided: Why  
do we further concern our selves or  
labour for our Country? Wh do we  
not resign up all, to that great and uni-  
controulable Governour, and (as they  
say) sit down vwith our hands folded?  
Since as your self do confess; all con-  
trivance and power is but vaine, when  
the Fates do oppose. Obstinacy and  
perverseness said *Langius* smiling, have  
set thee at distance Young Man from  
that vvhich is right and true. Is this  
to obey Fate, or to contemne and  
elude it? I vwill sit (say you) vwith my  
hands folded; 'tis well; I vwish you  
had done so vwith your Lips too. For  
vwho ever assented, that Fate acts singly  
vwithout the intervention of middle and  
assisting causes? It is Fate that your  
Children dye: Yet so, as that they  
shall first be begotten. It is Fate that

## C H A P. XXII.

*A pretence for Sloth usually drawn from Fate. Its Detection. Fate acts by second causes, and therefore they not to be idle. How farr we are to help our Country, and when to forbear. The Close of the first Discourse.*

**A**Nd here *Langius* pawfing a little; I cheerfully broke out, and thus interrupted him. If (said I) the wind fhall continue thus to fill the Sail; I fhall quickly arrive at the Haven. For now I dare follow God, I dare obey Necessity, and methinks I may say vvith *Enripides*:

*Ile rather Sacrifice to mighty Jove  
Than with vain rage combat the powers  
above.*

But

But I am yet tossed vwith the vwave of one troubled thought, and this *Langius* I pray you calme: For if publick Evils are from Fate, and that can neither be overcome nor avoided: Why do we further concern our selves or labour for our Country? Why do we not resign up all, to that great and uncontrollable Governour, and (as they say) sit down vwith our hands folded? Since as your self do confess; all contrivance and power is but vaine, when the Fates do oppose. Obstinacy and perverseness said *Langius* smiling, have set thee at distance Young Man from that vvhich is right and true. Is this to obey Fate, or to contemne and elude it? I vvill sit (say you) vwith my hands folded; 'tis well; I vvish you had done so vwith your Lips too. For vvho ever assented, that Fate acts singly vvithout the intervention of middle and assisting causes? It is Fate that your Children dye: Yet so, as that they shall first be begotten. It is Fate that

you recover of a Disease: But then you must employ the Physitian, and make use of remedies. In like manner it is Fate, that the fluctuating sinking Ship of your Country, shall be preserv'd: It is then also Fate, that it shall be supported and defended. If you will arrive at the Haven, you must apply your hands to the Oare, and hoist the Sailes; not idly gaping after, or expecting a Wind from above. On the other side if it is Fate that this Country of yours shall perish; by Fate also those things shall come to pass, which shall promote and further the ruine of it. The Commons shall be at variance with the Peers, and amongst themselves none shall know how to command, or to obey. Many shall be valiant in the tongue; all shall be sluggish in action: And to conclude amongst the Commanders themselves, there shall be found neither Prudence nor Integrity. *Velleius* said well; the irresistible

## Chap. 22. of Constancy. 133

stible force of Fate, doth corrupt the  
 Councells of him, whose Fortune it  
 is determin'd to change: And again  
 it comes to pass for the most part  
 that God perverts their Councells,  
 whose Fortune he is about to alter;  
 and (which is the greatest unhappi-  
 ness) so orders things, that those ca-  
 lamities which happen to such per-  
 sons, seem deservedly to have fallen  
 upon them. Neither ought you pre-  
 sently to conclude, that the last and  
 fatal revolution is now come upon your  
 Country. For how do you know it?  
 Or which way can you be certain,  
 whether it is some light distemper,  
 or a Disease unto Death? Assist her  
 therefore, and while the Patient hath  
 yet breath (as they say) hope. But  
 if by certain and infallible discove-  
 ries, it shall appear, that its fatall  
 change is upon it; then (in my judg-  
 ment) that is wholesome advice; fight  
 not against God. That Example of  
*Solan* I may here safely commend,  
 who

vvhich *Pisistratus* had seized *Athens*; and he saw that all endeavours for Liberty were vain, laying down his shield and armes at the doors of the Curia: O my Country said he, I have assisted thee both vvith my coun- cells and actions; and so vvent home, retolving for the future to be quiet. Do you thus, give place to God, give place to the times; and if you are a good Common-wealths Man, reserve your self to better and more gentle Fates. That Liberty which is now perish'd, may revive; and your Country vvich is now fallen, in pro- cess of time may yet arise: Why do you unadvisedly despond, and cast a- vvay your courage? Of those two Consuls at *Cannas* I esteem *Varro* a gallanter Person vvho fled, than *Paulus* that fell: Nor did the Senate and People of *Rome* judge otherwise, who gave him publick thanks, that he did not despair of the Common-vvealth. But vvwhether your Country do only  
totter,


## Chap.22. of Constancy. 135

totter, or vvhether it fall; vvhether it languish only, or vvholly perish: Afflict not your selfe overmuch, but espouse that noble courage of *Crates*, who vvhhen *Alexander* asked him, if he could wish his Country might be restor'd? To vvhhat purpose reply'd he, possibly another *Alexander* vwill overturn it again: These are the speeches of great and wise Men.

*Let Grieffs (though sad) within the best  
repose;  
Vvhat gain is't to awake our Sleeping  
woes.*

As *Achilles* vvas vvell advised in *Hommer*; for otherwise as *Creon* in the Fable, embracing his burning Daughter, freed her not; but himselfe perished vvhith her in the same Flames: So *Lipsius*, you vwill sooner drown your selfe in your own Tears, than vvhith them extinguish these publick Fires of your Country. While *Langius* vvas

yet speaking, the door opened; and a Boy from *Levinus Torrentius* came to tell us it was supper time? *Langius* as one awak'd, vvhhat sayes he, has this discourse so farr impos'd upon me? and is the day thus privily slipp'd away? And with that rising and taking me by the Arme; let's go *Lipsius* said he to this my wish'd Supper. Let us rather sit still, said I (being unwilling to go) for this to me is preferable to all other food; which I may justly call the banquet of the Gods. In these entertainments I alwayes hunger and can never be satisfy'd. But *Langius* compell'd me, and said he, let us now performe our promise; to morrow if you will we vwill finish our Sacrifice to Constancy.







A  
DISCOURSE  
OF  
CONSTANCY.

---

BOOK. II.

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CHAP. I.

*The occasion of renewing the Discourse;  
the going to Langius his Gardens.  
Their commendations.*

**T**He next day it pleased *Langius* to conduct me to his gardens which vvith a great deal of cost and curiosity he had planted in two places, the one upon

upon a gentle rise of ground opposite to his house: the other somewhat farther off, in a lower place, and close by the River *Maes*

*Whose Christall streams do gentle slide  
Along the pleasant City's side.*

Surprising me therefore in my Chamber very early in the morning shall we walk *Lipsius* say'd he, or whether had you rather repose upon a Chair here within doors? Walk *Langius* (said I) provided it be with you; but whither shall we go? If you approve it (reply'd he) to my Gardens which are by the waters side, they are not farr distant, and by the way you shall exercise your Body; see the City, and besides we shall there meet with a cool and desirable air; in the midst of this heat: With all my heart (said I) nor in your Company is it possible that any way should seem tedious to me, though it were  
to

# Chap. 1. of Constancy.

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to the utmost *Indies*. And with this we called for our Cloakes, cast them upon us, went forth, and got thither. As soon as I entred I took their prospect, with a wandring and curious Eye; and really wondring at the elegance, and culture of the place? My Father (said I) what pleasantness, what splendour is this? You have here *Langius* a Heaven rather than a Garden: Nor certainly do those Starry Fires above, shine out more illustriously in a clear and open Night; than these your flowers, do even sparkle and glitter in a most delectable Variety. Talk we of the Gardens of *Adonis* or *Alcinous*? compar'd with these, they are doubtless inconsiderable trifles, and such things as are next to nothing. And with this being come somewhat nearer, beholding some; and smelling to others: Oh! said I, which should I rather wish the Eyes of *Argus* or the Nose of *Carnullus*? So equally doth this

this pleasure even tickle and delight both Senses. Hence, hence all ye Odours of *Arabia* which serve only to provoke a loathing, in respect of that pure and truly Celestial sweetness that breaths from hence: *Langius* gently wringing my hand, and not without a smile or too; Fair fall my Gardens, *Lipsius* saies he; for neither I nor this rustical *Flora* of mine can pretend any Title to so skilfull and ingenious a commendation. It is yet a true one, *Langius* ('reply'd I) suppose you that I flatter? I speak it with all the seriousness imaginable, the *Elysian* Fields, are less so than these Gardens of yours. For see what a comeliness and order is every vvhere? How fitly all things are disposed in their Beds and Borders? That the different coloured Marbles in a pavement are not placed vvith a more becoming Beauty and exactness. What plenty of Herbs and Flowers? What  
rarity

rarity and strangeness? Inſomuch as within the narrow limits of this one place, Nature ſeems to have enclosed all thoſe excellencies, which either this of ours, or that other World is able to boaſt off.

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## C H A P. II.

*The praiſe of Gardens in general. Delight taken in them is ancient, and from Nature. Kings and other excellent perſons addicted to them. The pleaſures of them.*

**A**Nd truly *Langius* this your divertifment is a praiſe-worthy and commendable one; a pleaſure vvhhereunto (if I am not deceived) the more excellent and ingenuous perſons are by Nature it ſelf inclin'd. I am rather induc'd to believe this; inasmuch

as it is not very easie to think of any one pleasure, in vvhich the most eminent amongst the Nations have in all ages so vvvillingly consented. If vve turne over the sacred Volume, vve shall there find that the World and Gardens vvere made together, vvhich God himself bestow'd upon the first Man, as the Seat of a blessed Life: If vve search into prophane Stories, Proverbs and Fables every vvhere tell us of the Gardens of *Adonis* and *Alcinous*, *Tantalus* and the *Hesperides*: and in true and credible Histories, vve meet the mention of King *Cyrus* his Orchards, that were planted with his own Hands: The airy and pendulous Gardens of *Semiramis*, and that new and celebrated Plat of *Masanissa* vvhich *Affrick* vvondred at. Amongst the ancient Greeks and Romans, how many illustrious persons art I able to name; vvho casting off all other cares, have betaken themselves only to this? Amongst the form-

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er, it vwill suffice to say in short, that most of the Philosophers and Sages, removing from Cities and the wild clamour of the Courts; have cloystred up themselves vwithin private limits and bounds. And amongst the latter, methinks I see King *Tarquine* (in that then ancient *Rome*) diverting himself in his Gardens, and smiting off the heads of the Poppyes. *Cato* the Censour applying himself to this study, and vvriting Books vvith all seriousness about these matters. *Lucullus* retiring to his Gardens, after all his Asiaticque Triumphs. *Sylla* having lay'd down his Dictatorship doth here more contentedly grow old; and *Dioclesian* the Emperour preferres his Sallads and Lettuce at *Salona*; before the imperial purple, and all the Scepters of the Universe. Nor have the Vulgar receded from the Judgement of their superiours; but even amongst them the honestest sort, and such as vvere free from ambition;

bition; were generally this way addicted. For certainly there is a kind of secret impulse, that with us is born; the hidden Causes of which I cannot easily explicate; which thrusts into this innocent and ingenuous delight; not only us who bend that way, but even those serious and severe persons; who both resist and deride it. And as none do behold the Heavens, and those eternal Fires; without a secret kind of horror and Religion; so neither do any take a view of the Sacred Treasures of the Earth, and the beautiful Ornaments of this lower World, without a silent kind of Gust and Titillation of delight. Enquire but of your Mind and Soul, and it will confess it self not only to be surpriz'd; but even sed with such a prospect. Ask your Eyes and Senses and they will acknowledge, that they do not any where more willingly repose themselves. Look round about I beseech you



you for a while, and observe the several troops of Flowers, together with the manner of their growth. Behold how this uncupps; and that unsheathes, and this other swells it self out of the rich inclosure of it's Gemm-like Bud. See how suddenly the one expires, and the other shoots out to succeed it; to conclude, observe in any one kind of them, the Beauty, Forme; and Appearance, a thousand vvayes divers and the same. What Mind is there so rigid, that in such entertainments as these, vvill not vvithdraw and melt it self, into soft and pleasing Meditations? Let the curious Eye dwell awhile upon those Orient and dazeling Colours: Behold this native Purple; this Blood; this Ivory; this Snow, this Flame, this Gold, and such diversity of Colours; as a skilful Pencil may possibly emulate, but can never be able to expresse? To conclude vvhat exhaling Odors, vvhat subtile and pierc-

ing Spirit, and I know not what part of the Heavenly Air breathed from above? So that our Tribe of Poets seem not in vain to have feign'd, that most Flowers are born of the Blood and juice of the Immortal Gods. O thou true Fountain of dissolved pleasure! O thou happy Seat of *Venus* and the *Graces*! May I ever pass my dayes, and repose myself in these your shades; may it be lawful for me (thus remote from popular tumults) with a cheerful yet unsatisfy'd Eye; to wander amongst the Plants and Flowers of the known and unknown World; busying my self now with the Rise of this, and than with the Set of that, and with a wandring kind of deceit here to lose the memory of all my cares and sorrows.

CHAP.

## C H A P. III.

*Against some curious People, who abuse  
their Gardens to Vanity and Sloth.  
Their proper use. That they are  
places fit for wise and learned Men;  
and that Wisdom it self is bred  
and cherished there.*

W H E N I had spoken this somewhat earnestly, and with a kind of Ardour both in voice and countenance; *Langius* looking mildly upon me: Certainly said he *Lipsius*, you are enamour'd of this florid and purple Nymph; and I am solicitous, lest you should love her immodestly. For you praise Gardens, but yet so, as to admire only those things which are vain and external; while you omit to speak of the true and lawful Pleasures of them. You greedily behold the colours, and repose

in the beds, and enquire after Flowers from the known and unknown World? But for vvhhat purpose I pray? Is it to assure me that you also are one of that newly sprung up Sect of curious and idle persons; vvho have converted the most excellent and simple delight, into the instrument of a couple of Vices; Vanity, and Sloth? For to this end have they their Gardens, vvith an ambitious curiosity they search after a few forraign Plants and Flowers; and vvhen they have them, they cherish and attend them, vvith the same anxiety and passion, as a Mother doth her Son. These are they vvwhose Letters vvander into *Thrace*, *Greece*, *India*, for some little parcel of seed, a Clove, or off-set of a Flower: Who more passionately lament the vvithering of some new fashioned Slipp; than the Death of an old try'd Friend. Does any Man laugh at that *Roman*, vvho put on mourning

ing

ing for the Death of his Lamprey?  
After the same manner bewail they  
the Funerals of their Flowers. Now  
if any of these Candidates of *Flora*  
have got any thing more new or rare,  
O how he boasts it! How do his  
Corrivals emulate and envy him?  
Some of vvhom return no less pen-  
sive to their Houses than *Sylla* or *Mar-*  
*cellus* vvhen they vvere rejected in  
their suit for the Pretorship. What  
shall I call this but a merry kind of  
madness? Not unlike to that of chil-  
dren turning pale, and quarrelling  
for their Topps and Counters. Un-  
derstand also how these men imploy  
themselves in their Gardens; they  
sit, they vwalk round about, they  
gape and sleep, and nothing else;  
as if they intended them not as pla-  
ces of retirement, but as Sepulchres  
of Sloth. A prophane Generation,  
and such as I may justly exclude from  
the Orgyes of the true and sacred  
Garden, vvhich I know to be con-

K ;           secrete

secrete to modest pleasure, not to Vanity, to ease, but not at all to Sloth. Should I be of so feeble a temper, that the gain or loss of a poor Flower, should either exalt or depress me? No, I esteem things at their just rates, and setting aside the meretricious advantage of Novelty: I know they are but Plants; I know they are but Flowers: that is, short-liv'd and transitory things; of which the Prince of Poets hath pertinently spoken,

*When the soft Western winds abroad do  
flye,  
Some Flowers they make to spring, and  
others dye.*

I do not then despise these elegancies and delights (as you see) but herein I differ from these delicate Hortensii; that as I get such things as these without anxiety, so I keep, and so I lose them. Nor am I so  
stupid,

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stupid, or rather so dead, that I should cloyster up, and (as it vvere) bury my self in these Garden shades: For even in these retirements, I find business, and my Mind doth here meet vvith something vvhich it may performe vvithout action. I am never less alone than vvhen alone (said one;) nor ever less at leisure than when so. An excellent saying, and vvhich I dare affirm had its birth in such Gardens as these, vvhich are intended for the Mind, not the Body; to recreate that, not to dissolve and soften this; and for a safe retreat both from Company and Cares. Is company troublesome? Here you shall be vvith your self: Have employments exhausted your Spirits? Here they shall be repayr'd, vvhere the Mind shall be refresh'd vvith its proper food of quiet, and vvhere from this purer air, you shall have as it were the inspiration of a new life. If you look therefore upon the ancient Sages, they dwelt

in Gardens; or upon the more learned and improved Spirits of our times, they delight in Gardens: And in those for the most part are those divine pieces compos'd, vvhich are the wonder of Mankind, and vvhich no Age, or successions of time shall ever abolish. To this green *Lyceum* do we stand indebted for so many Lectures upon Nature: To this shady *Academy* vve owe those discourses about manners, and from the apartments of these Gardens are those abundant springs of Wisdom diffus'd, vvhich we drink of, and vvhich vwith their fertill inundations have enrich'd the World. For the Mind doth raise and advance it self to higher and greater things; vvhhen free and at large; it beholds its own Heaven, then vvhhen 'tis cloyster'd up within the Prison of a House or City. Here O ye Poets frame an everlasting and immortal Verse; here let the learned meditate and write; here O ye Philosophers



phers dispute of Tranquility, of Constancy, of Life, and Death. See *Lipsius* the true end and use of Gardens; it is rest, secession, meditation, reading, vvriting; and yet all these by way of recreation only, and divertisement. As Painters vvho by long poring have vvearied and dimm'd their sight, call it off to certain glasles and green objects, thereby to quicken and refresh it; so do yve the Mind when it either straggles or is tyred. And why should I conceal my Custome from you? Do you see that Arbour set out vvith Topiary vvork? 'Tis the place I have consecrated to the Muses. It is my School of Wisdom. There I either satisfie my Mind with serious and retir'd reading, or improve it vvith the Seeds of profitable Meditation? And as arms are lay'd up in a Magazene: So do I from them, store up precepts in my Mind, vvhich are alwayes ready by me, against every battery and impression of Fortune. As oft as I  
enter

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enter there, I forthwith command all base and servile cares to absent themselves; and (asmuch as I may) with an elevated Mind, I despise the studies of the prophane vulgar, and this great vanity in the affairs of Men. Yes, I seem to my self to be wholly divested of humanity; and to be transported into Heaven it self, in the fiery Chariot of Wisdome. Do you think it there troubles me, what the *French* or *Spaniard* are designing? Who keeps, or loses the Scepter of *Belgia*? That the Tyrant of *Asia*, now threatens us by Land or by Sea? Or to conclude;

*What Plots that King is forging in his  
brains,  
That in the North and frozen Climate  
raigns?*

none of all these I will assure you. Securely fortify'd against all that is external; I retreat within my self, free  
from

from all sorts of cares except this one, how I may subject this broken and subdued Mind of mine to Right Reason, and to God: And all other humane things to my Mind, that vvhenever that fatal day shall come that must put a period to my Life; I may receive it vvith a compos'd, and unsaddened countenance; and may so depart out of this life, not as he that is forc'd into exile, but as one that is set at liberty. These are my musings in my Gardens *Lipsius*; and these the fruits which (so long as I am my self) I shall not vvillingly exchange for all the *Persian* and the *Indian* treasures.

## CHAP. IV.

*An exhortation to Wisdom; thereby  
a Man may attain to Constancy.  
An admonition to Youth, to con-  
joyn the more serious studies of Phi-  
losophy to the more pleasant and li-  
beral ones.*

**L** *Angius* had finish'd, and I confess  
seriously that this last generous  
and constant speech of his, had cast  
me into some amazement, vvhich  
vvhen I had recovered, O happy  
Man (said I) both in your business  
and retirements! O that more than  
humane life; vvvhich I have met with  
in a Man! Would to God I vv ere  
able in any Measure to imitate, and  
to creep along after these footsteps;  
though it vv ere at a considerable di-  
stance. *Langius* as reprehending me;  
imitate sayes he? Yes excell. You  
have right here not only to follow,  
but

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but to lead the vway. For in this Path of Constancy and Vertue *Lipsius*, vve have made but a small, a very small progress. As yet vve are not comparable to the more Heroick and excellent Persons, though possibly a little more assured than the utterly enfeebled and debauched sort. But you whose Youthfull inclinations are Generous and Lofly, prepare your self; and agreeable to my instructions, assay that path which doth directly lead to firmness and Constancy. The vway I speak of is Wisdom, whose smooth and even path, I beseech and advise you no longer to decline: Hath learning and the Nine Goddesses hitherto delighted you? I approve it. For I know the Mind ought first to be subacted and prepar'd with this more pleasing and external knowledge, as being before unfit to have divine Seeds intrusted vwith it. But vwithall I approve not that you should so farr dore  
upon

upon this as to make it both the beginning and end of your studies. These are to be our rudiments but not our vwork; our vway but not our Goale. In a feast ( I suppose ) you vwould not feed only upon Quelk-choses or Junkets; but would gratifie your stomach vvith something that is more solid. In this publick banquet of Learning, why do you not the same? Why add you not the firmer food of Philosophy, to those delicious Viands of Oratours and Poets? For ( mistake me not ) I vwould not that the one should be deserted, but that the other should be superadded, and that those looser, and by themselves more fluid Nymphs should be tempered and mixed, vvith this ( as I may call it ) severer *Bacchus*. *Penelope's* Suitors in *Homer* are justly laughed at; vvho deserting the Mistress fell to courting the Maids: Take heed you do not the same, that despising the great and excellent Princess, you  
should

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should remain enamour'd of her hand-maids. It is a desirable purchase to attain the praise of a learned Man; that of a vvise Man is beyond it, but that of a good Man surpasses all. Hereafter let us aim at these; and by all our labours endeavour not only to know, but to be vvise and do :

*How vaine's that knowledge where  
No VVisdome doth appear ?*

sayes that old and true Verse. How many are there in this our Assembly of the Muses, vvho dishonour both themselves, and the very name of Learning? Some in that they are even covered with the black spots of detestable impieties; and the most because they are vain, light Meteours only, and of no worthy designment. Do they learn languages? Yes, but languages alone. Do they understand the Greek and Latine Authors? Yet they do but understand  
them,

them, and as *Anacharsis* said well of the *Athenians* heretofore; they used money only to count it: so these their knowledge only to know. So utterly regardless are they of their lives, and of what they do, that (even in my judgement) the vulgar seem with some reason to look upon learning as the Mistress of vice: But it is indeed the Directress to vertue; if we use it as we ought, and conjoyn it with wisdom; to which learning should prepare our Minds, but not seize upon them, and detain them to it self: For as there are some sorts of Trees, that will bear no fruit, unless they are planted by other male ones (as I may call them) so will the Virgin Muses remain barren; unless wedded to the Masculine strength of wisdom. To what end dost thou correct *Tacitus*? and at the same time suffer so many *Errata's* in thine own life? Why dost thou illustrate *Tranquillus*? and yet permit thy self to be benighted



ed vvith Errour? Dost thou carefully expunge the faults out of *Plautus*, vwhen thou sufferest thy Mind to be over-grown and neglected? Elpouse at the last more worthy designs, and look after such a kind of learning as may serve, not only for austentation and applause, but also for use. Betake your self unto Wisdom which may reforme your manners; calme and enlighten your troubled and dark Soul. For 'tis she alone that can fix upon you the impress of vertue; and consigne you to Constancy, and give you a free admission into the Temple of a good Mind.

## C H A P. V.

*Wisdom is not acquir'd by wishes, but  
endeavours. The discourse of Con-  
stancy renew'd. The desire of know-  
ledge, a happy presage in a Young  
Man.*

**T**His admonition so inflam'd me,  
that not able to dissemble it;  
My Father said I, with my Mind I  
follow you already; but when shall  
I with my Actions also? When shall  
that day appear, which releasing me  
from these cares, shall place me in  
the path of true wisdom; that there-  
by I may attain to true Constancy?  
*Langius* as one reproving me. Do  
you then (said he) choose rather to  
wish, than to act? It is to no pur-  
pose at all; and as the vulgar use to  
do. However *Ceneus* in the Fable  
was transformed from a Woman to

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a Man by wishing: Yet hope not you after the same manner, to pass from a fool to a wise, or from a wavering to a constant Man. It will concern you to use your utmost endeavour, to turn every stone, and that with an industrious diligence; you must seek, read, and learn: Here interrupting him, I know it *Langius* reply'd I; but do you also I beseech you lend me your assistance, and continue the thread of Yesterdays discourse, which our summons to supper did unhappily break off: Return I say unto Constancy, whose intermitted rites, it will be dangerous to deferre: *Langius* as refusing, shall I again said he be shut up in that School? I will not *Lipsius*; at least not in this place, which you should consider I have devoted to my recreations and not to business, another time we will attend it. Yes at this time reply'd I, for what place is more fit for a discourse of wisdom, than

this her dwelling? I mean that Arbour, vvhich to me seems a Temple, and the little Table in it, no other than an Altar, at vvhich sitting down let us Sacrifice to the Goddels. Besides I take an Omen from the very place. What Omen (sayes *Langius*?) 'Tis this said I, that as he who sits in a place where Odors and sweet Unguents are, carrys along with him in his Garments the perfume and scent of the place: So I am not without hope, that some Air and Odour of Wildom may adhere unto my Mind, by sitting in this her Store-house. I am afraid (sayes *Langius* smiling) there is but little of vveight in so light an Omen: Howsoever *Lipsius* let us set forward, for not to dissemble with you, this so ingenious heat of yours does excite and vvarm me too. And as the searchers after springs, when in the Morning they observe a certain vapour exhailing from the Earth, do forthwith conclude that there they shall meet vvith  
water;

water: So have I hopes of a plentiful spring of vertue, wheresoever I observe in Youth an early desire of knowledge to betray it self: And with this he, led me into the Arbour, and seated himself at the Table. But I first turning my self and calling to the Boyes; stay there said I and vvaite, but be sure you lock the door, and observe what I say; upon your lives see that no Man, nor Dog, nor Woman enter; no though good Fortune her self should come; and with that I sat down. But *Langius* laughing out-right, did you ever sway Scepter *Lipsius* (said he) so Princelike and so severe are your edicts? Yesterdays misfortune (reply'd I) has dictated to me this necessary caution, and now in Gods name proceed.

## C H A P. VI.

*A third Argument for Constancy drawn from utility : Calamities are good both in their Original and End. Their Original is from God; who being eternally and immutably good, cannot be the cause of any Evil.*

**L**Angius without any considerable pause thus began. In my discourse of Constancy it is fit I be constant, I shall therefore observe the same order and method which Yesterday I propounded. Then (as you know) I form'd Four Squadrons (as I call them) to fight in its behalf against grief and dejectedness. The two former of these, from Providence and Necessity; I have already drawn forth, and have sufficiently convinc'd that publick evils are sent down from God; as also that they are necessary  
and

and impossible to be declin'd. I shall now therefore bring up my Third Squadron led by Utility; vvhich I may truly call the Legion Adjutrix, a Valiant and subtile power, vvhich I know not how doth convey and insinuate it self into the Minds of Men, and with a pleasing kind of violence so overcomes them, as that themselves are not unwilling to be conquer'd. It rather gains upon us by degrees, than by violent impressions, and rather persuades than compells us. For we as readily permit our selves to be led by Utility, as drawn by Necessity. This *Lipsius* I now oppose against you and your failing troops. For these publick evils vvhich we suffer are profitable, and contribute much to our inward advantage. Did I call them Evils? They are rather goods; if removing this veil of Opinion, we have a due recourse unto their Original and End; of vvhich the former is from good, and the latter is for good. For

the Original of these Calamities ( as Yesterday I sufficiently prov'd ) is certainly from God: That is, not only from the chiefest good it self, but from the Author, cause, and Fountain of all other good vvhatsoever; from vvhom it is as utterly impossible that any evil should proceed, as that himself should be evil. That power is only benign and healthful, equally despising to receive and to do vvrong, and vvwhose sole and chief prerogative it is to benefit. And therefore those ancient and blinder sort of Men, conceiving something of the supream Being in their Minds; did rightly give him his Name from helping. Suppose you that he is exasperated, and that as one in a passion, he hurles down these evils as so many deadly Arrows upon mankind? No. Anger and Revenge are humane Affections, and being the effects of vvweakness, are found only amongst the infirme. But that excellent



cellent Being doth eternally persever in its benignity, and those very severities vvhich vve tast off from him, are only as Medicines; sharp and bitter to the sense, but healthful in their issue and events. *That Homer of Philosophers said rightly God doth no evil, and therefore cannot be the cause of any. But better and more fully that wise one of ours. What is the cause of the gods doing good? Their Nature. He errs that imagines they are either desirous or able to do hurt. As they cannot receive, so neither can they do an injury. The first honor that we owe to the Gods, is to believe that they are; the next is to ascribe Majesty to them, and goodness without which there is no Majesty. To know they are those, who preside over the world; who govern all things as their own; who are the Guardians of Mankind, and of every particular person, and that no evil is in them, neither doth any proceed from them.*

## C H A P. VII.

*The end of Calamities alwayes directed to good; though often administred by wicked Men, and for their evil ends. The force of them is broken and allayd by God. All things are guided to our advantage. VVhy God uses wicked Men as his Instruments therein.*

**C**alamities then are good in their Original; they are so also in their End, because they are alwayes directed to our good. You vvill say vvich vvay? Is not mischief and ruine the manifest end of Warr and Slaughter? It is I confesse if you look at Men, but not if you look upon God. That you may the more clearly apprehend this, It vvill be requisite thus to distinguish of divine punishments; some are simple and others are mixt: Those

I

## Chap. 7. of Constancy.

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I call simple vvhich are immediately from God; vvithout the intervening of any humane Contrivance or Assistance: The mixt, are such as are from God too; but acted and performed by Men. Of the former kind are Famine, Barrenness, Earth-quakes, Inundations, Diseases, and Death: Of the latter, Tyrannies, Warres, Oppressions, Slaughters. The first sort are pure and innocent, as being deriv'd to us from the purest Fountain: In the other I vvill not deny, but there is some mixture of filth, inasmuch as they pass through, and are convey'd to us by the impure Channels of Affections. Man intermeddles therein, and then vvhat yvonder is it, if Sin and corruption do discover it self? That is the yvonder that such is the merciful Providence of God, as can convert that poyson into Medicine, and that Sin into good. See you that Tyrant there, who breaths out nothing but threatnings and slaughter,

ter, vvwhose delights are in doing mischief, and vvwho could be content to perish himself, provided he might thereby accomplish the destruction of others: Let him alone awhile, he shall fail in his designs; and God by a secret and indiscernible thread (vvwhile he thinks and vvills nothing less ) shall guide him to his end. As the Arrow vvwithout any sense of its own, arrives at that mark vvwhich the Archer intended; so do vvicked Men. For that supreme power doth inhibit and restrain all humane powers, directing and disposing all their vvandering steps unto that best end of his. As in an Army the Souldiers are variously affected; spoile encourages this, glory him, and hatred that other; but all fight for their Prince and Victory: So every of these vvills of ours, whether they are good or evil, serve under, and fight for God, and amidst the greatest variety of their own designed ends, do at last touch upon this (as I may so call it)

End

## Chap. 7. of Constancy. 173

End of Ends. But you vwill say vwhy does God use the help of the vicked? Why does not he himself send that better sort of Calamities amongst us; at least the worser by more desirable instruments? Thou art over curiously inquisitive O Man: Neither am I certain vvwhether I am able to explain these Mysteries of Providence. But this I know, that he sufficiently comprehends the reason of his actings; even at such times as we are not able to discern the least of it in them. But vwhat is it that appears so strange, and unusual to us? The Ruler of a Province condemnes a malefactour according to the Laws; and commits the Execution of his Sentence to *Bruttianus* or the Lictor. The Father of a great Family sometimes corrects his Son himself; at others commits it to the care of a Servant or Tutor. Why should not God have the same liberty? Why should not he vvhen he so pleases chastise us vvith his own hand? And vvhen

when he sees it good vwith anothers. There is no wrong or injury done to us in all this. Does that Servant hate you? Doth he come vwith a Mind to do you a mischief? It matters not, overlooking the instrument of vwhat you suffer: Look back to the Mind of him that hath commanded it. For assuredly the Father that requires it stands by; nor will he suffer one stripe to be superadded to what himself hath prescribed. But you ask again; why is Sin here immixed? and why are these divine Arrowes dipp'd in the poyson of Affections? You put me upon a difficult task, which yet I st all adventure upon; and my answer is, that God may declare his Wisdom and Power. They are St. *Austine's* words; he judg'd it better to make evils good, than to permit no' evils at all. For vwhat greater instance can there be of Wisdom and Goodness, than to bring good out of evil, and to make those things Conspire  
our

our welfare, which were found out for our ruine. You commend that Physitian who successfully mixes his Treacle with a Viper. And why should you resent it in God, if vvith this Plaister of Calamities, he shall intermixe something that is hurtfull, vvithout any damage of yours. For he doth certainly decoct and evaporate all the adhering poyson, by the secret fire of his Providence. Lastly, this magnifies his power and glory; to vvich all things are by himself of Necessity referr'd. For vvhat can more lively expresse his power than this? That he not only overcomes those Enemies that wraastle vvith him; but also overcomes them in such a manner, as brings them over to himself, and causes them to take Armes in the pursuance of his Victories: Which every day comes to pass, vvhen the vvill of God is done by evill Men, though not of them; since he so manages all those things vvich  
the

the vicked do in opposition to his vwill; that none of them are besides his will. And vwhat greater miracle can there be, than that vicked Men should make vicked Men good? Approach thou *Cajus Caesar*, and at once tread under Foot the two Sacred Names of thy County, and Son in Law. This thy ambition vwithout thy knowledge shall be subservient to God; yes to thy Country it self, against vvhich it vvas taken up: For it shall prove the reparation and establishment of the Roman State. Thou *Attila* fly from the remotest parts of the World, and thirsting after blood and spoile, Sack, kill, burn, and wast; all this cruelty shall fight for God, and prove nothing else but an awakening of the Christians from slumbring in the Beds of Pleasure and Security. You two *Vespasians* what do you? Ruine *Judea* and the Jews: Take, and raze the whole City; but for what end? As you indeed intend it;



it; for the glory and enlargement of the Empire, but you mistake your selves, you are only the Lictours and Executioners of the divine vengeance upon an impious Nation. Go ye vvhō possibly have martyr'd the Christians at *Rome*, and revenge the Death of *Christ* in *Judea*. All ages are full of such examples, how God by the sinful desires of some Men hath accomplished his own good pleasure; and by the injustice of others, hath executed his own just and righteous Judgments. Let us therefore *Lipsius* rather admire than busily pry into this recluded Power of his Wisdom, and let us know, that all sorts of Calamities are good in their events: Although this Mind of ours be so blind as not to discern it; or so slow in its apprehensions as not to reach and comprehend it. For their true ends are oftentimes obscure as to us; to vvhich notwithstanding ( though vve are ignorant )

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rant) they at last arrive: not unlike those Rivers which though they retire from our sight, and creep underground, do nevertheless find the way to pour themselves into the bosoms of their own Seas.

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C H A P. VIII.

*More distinctly of the Ends themselves. They are Three-fold; and to whom each belongs. Of the first End, which is for the exercise of the Good. It is advantageous three ways. It strengthens them; tries them, and fits them to be exemplary to others.*

**I**F I may therefore hoise Sail and pass on further into this depth of divine matters; I may possibly discover some things more fully and distinctly  
con-

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concerning the Ends themselves. But it is fit I should preface an attempt of this Nature vvith that of *Homer*,

*If it may be done by me,  
Or the thing it self can be.*

For there are some of them, which methinks I am able with some certainty to comprehend and point out, but there are others vvhich I can only rove and guess at. Of the more apparent ones, are these three; to Exercise, Chastise, and Punish us. For if you observe it, the most usual and ordinary calamities do either exercise the good, or chastise the offending, or punish the wicked; and all this for our good. For (to illustrate and dwell awhile upon the first End) we daily see the best Men either press'd by calamities singly and apart by themselves; or else inclosed by them, in society with the wicked. We observe and vvonder at it;

as neither sufficiently comprehending the cause; nor rightly considering the End. Now the cause is the love of God towards us, not his hate; and the End is not our hurt, but our benefit. For this exercise doth advantage us more wayes than one: It strengthens us, it tryes us, and it fits us to lead on others. It strengthens us, being (as it vvere) that School; vwherein God trains up his in Fortitude and Virtue. We see vrastlers inure themselves to sharp Tryals; that they may overcome at last: think the same of us in this School of Afflictions. For that great Master of ours is a sharp and severe exerciser of us; and exacts our labbours and patience not only unto sweat but blood: Suppose you that he fondly trains up his, and that he cherishes them in the soft blandishments of pleasure and delight? No. They are Mothers vvhich soften and enervate their children, by an over-tenderness  
in

in their education; but Fathers who preserve them, by acquainting them with hardship. Now God is our Father, and therefore as he doth truly so he severel loves us. If you would be a Pilot, you must be brought up amongst stormes; if a Souldier, you must be trained up in dangers; and if you would be truly a Man, vyhy do you start at afflictions, since there is no other vway to acquire strength. Do you see those languishing and retir'd Bodies, whom the Sun seldom looks upon, the vyind never assails, and the more piercing air never lights upon; the Minds of those soft and ever happy Men, are such as the least gust of an angry Fortune vwill overturn and dissolve. Afflictions then do strengthen us, and as trees fasten their roots the deeper by how much the more they are shaken with the Winds; so good Men become the more fixed in vertue, when attempted by the storms of adversity. Af-

fictions do also prove and try us; for otherwise how shall any Man be able to judge of his firmness and proficiency? If a prosperous wind do ever fill the Sail, the Pilot has no opportunity to display his skill; and if all things still evenly and happily succeed to Man, he shall lose the glory of his vertue; for the only undeceivable touch-stone of it, is affliction. *It was a gallant Speech of Demetrius: Nothing seems to me more unhappy than that Man who has never tasted of Adversity, and it is most true.* For our Great General doth not exempt such Men, but distrusts them; he doth not indulge, but discards and contemns them. He rases I say their names out of the Muster Rolls of his Legions, as a sort of feeble and unserviceable persons. Lastly, they adapt us to lead on others; for the courage and patience of good Men in their sufferings, is a light to this benighted World. They invite  
others

others by their example to the same things, and as it were trace out a path of vertue for them to walk in. *Bias* lost at once his Fortunes and his Country; but he yet calls out to Men, that they be sure to carry all their Treasure about them. *Regulus* in the midst of his Torments unworthily expir'd; But that excellent and noble example of promise keeping doth yet survive. *Papinianus* is slain by the Tyrant; but his Axe hath taught us securely to abide it, when we must dye in the maintenance of Justice. To conclude, there are a number of most admirable Persons, that through violence or injustice, have been banished or slain: but from those Rivers of blood; we daily suck and drink in our improvements in Constancy and Vertue: All which notwithstanding would for ever have been concealed in darkness, were it not for this Torch of afflictions. For as Spices do every way emit and dis-

perse their Odours when they are pounded; so Vertue doth then chiefly display her Glories, when she is oppressed.

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### C H A P. IX.

*Of Chastisement, the Second End. That it avails us two wayes.*

**T**He Second End is to Chastise us, than vvhich there could not be a more gentle or effectual means found out for our preservation. For it benefits and preserves us two wayes, either as a scourge, vvhhen yve have offended, or as a Bridle lest vve should offend. As a scourge, since it is the hand of a Father vvhich often corrects an offender for his faults; but it is an Executioner, that slowly and only once punishes. As vve use  
fire



fire or vvater for the cleansing and purging away of filth and dross: So doth God make use of afflictions to take away that of our sins. And it is deservedly a scourge upon us at this time *Lipsius*; for vve *Belgians* had before offended; and being corrupted vvith vvealth and pleasures, vve Ran on Headlong in the Way of Vice. But our God gently warnes and recalls us; and scourges us with some stripes, that forewarned by these, we may return to our selves and to him. He takes away our Estates, we abused them to Luxury; our liberty, because we enlarg'd it to licentiousness? And vvith this gentle *Ferula* of Calamities, he doth (as it were) expiate and purge away our offences. A gentle one indeed, for how slight a satisfaction is this? They say the *Persians* when they are to punish some Illustrious and great Person, use to stripp him of his Robes and Tiara; and hanging them up  
they

they scourge these instead of the Man : So doth this Father of ours, who in every of his chastisements overpasses us, and touches onely upon our Bodies, our Lands, our Goods, and our outward Enjoyments. This Chastisement serves us also for a bridle, which he opportunely casts over us, when he sees we are about to offend. As Physitians do sometimes advisedly breath a vein, not because we are sick, but that we may not be; so by these Calamities God doth withdraw from us some such things, as would otherwise become incentives and fuel to our Vices. For he vvho gave a being to all things doth vvell understand their Natures; nor doth he judge of their Diseases, by the Complexion and Pulse; but by the Heart and Reins. Doth he see the Genius of the *Hetrurians* to be over-haughty and raised? He rules them by a Prince: The *Helvetians* easy

easy and quiet? He indulges them liberty: The *Venetians* of a temper betwixt both? He fits them vwith a middle vway of Government; and vwill possibly change all these hereafter; as the persons shall vary their Conditions. Nevertheless, we complain, and vvhy (say vve) are vve longer harras'd vwith vvar than others? and vvhy are vve crush'd under a heavier Yoke of servitude? Thou Fool, and now really sick! Art thou vviser than thy Maker? Tell me vvhy doth the Physitian prescribe more Wormwood or Hellebore for this than for that Man? Is it not because his Disease or Constitution requires it? Think the same here; possibly he sees this people more stubborn, and therefore to be subdued by stripes; that other more tractable and apt to be reduced with the shaking of the Rod. But you do not think so: It may be so. Our Parents vwill not trust a Knife or  
Sword

Sword in the Hand of their Child (though he cry for it) as foreseeing his hurt. Why then should God indulge us to our destruction ; since we are truly Children , and neither know how to ask those things which are expedient for us ; nor how to part vvith those that will be fatal to us ? You may therefore lament if you please, and as much as you please, but you shall notwithstanding drink of that cup of sorrowes, vvhich that Heavenly Physitian presents you with, and vvhich he hath ( not unadvisedly) filled so full for you.

C H A P. X.

*of punishment the Third End ; that it is good both in respect of God, Men, and him that is punished.*

Punishment I confesse respects evil Men, but is no evil it self. For First, it is good if you respect God, whose eternal and immoveable law of Justice doth require that the crimes of Men be either amended, or removed out of the vway. Now chastisement amends those that can be washed out ; and those vvhich cannot, punishment takes away. It is good also in respect of Men, amongst whom no society could stand and continue ; if all things vvere permitted vvith impunity to turbulent and desperate spirits. As the punishment of petty Thieves and Murtherers,

ers, conduces to every Mans private security: So does that of the greater and most famous ones to that of the publick welfare. Those divine animadversions upon Tyrants; and the great rulers of the World ought necessarily sometimes to intervene, that there may be examples to admonish us,

——— *That there is a wakeful Eye  
Of justice, which doth all descry.*

And vvhich to other Potentates  
and people may cry out,

——— *Thus warn'd by others miseries,  
Learn justice and the Gods not to despise.*

It is good: Thirdly, if you consider those very persons that are punished. For it is for their sakes; since it is not so properly a revenge, or an utterly destroying judgement, as a gentle exhibition and restraint from Sin,

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Sin, or to speak it fully vwith the  
Græcians a punishment not a revenge,  
for that Gracious Diety

*Never consults his Anger that from  
thence*

*He may severest punishments dispense.*

As that Impious Poet said piously.  
As Death is sometimes sent in Mer-  
cy to good Men before they sin: So  
to the incorrigible wicked in the  
midst of their Sins, because they are  
so devored to them, that unless they  
be cut off, they cannot be divorced.  
God therefore stops their unbridled  
course, and while they are commit-  
ting sin for the present, and design-  
ing others for the future; he mercifully  
takes them away. To conclude  
all punishment is good, as it respects  
justice, as on the contrary impunity  
is evil, which makes Men sinful,  
that is miserable Men to continue so  
longer. Boetius said well, wicked  
Men

*Men are more happy under punishment, than if Justice should inflict none at all upon them; and he gives this reason, because some good is come amongst them (to wit) punishment, which in all the heap of their other crimes they never yet had.*

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## C H A P. XI.

*Of a fourth End; which pertains either to the Conservation and defence of the Universe, or its Ornament. The Explication of each.*

**T**Hese are the three certain evident Ends, which I have pass'd vwith a sure and steady Foot: the fourth remains vvhich I must adventure upon with a doubtful one. For it is more remov'd and obscure, than that our humane capacities should per-



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perfectly reach it. I discover it only through a Cloud, and I may guess and offer at it, but never certainly know and attain to it. The End which I mean hath a double respect and regards either the conservation or the beauty of the Universe. I therefore suppose it is for its conservation; because that God who made and disposed all things by an excellent wisdom; did so make them, that he bounded every of them within a certain number, measure, and weight: Nor can any particular Creature transgress these limits, without the weakening or ruine of the whole. Thus those great bodies the Heavens, the Earth, the Sea have their bounds; thus every Age hath its appointed number, and thus both Men, Cities, and Kingdomes have their stated accounts. Will they exceed these? It is necessary that some storme and tempest of Calamities do check and retard them: For otherwise they would endanger  
N and

and bring damage to, this beautiful frame of the World. But those things especially would exceed these bounds very often, that are under the command of Encrease and Multiply. Look upon Men, who can deny that by nature we are born faster, than we naturally dye? So that in a few years from two persons a family of a hundred may be propagated; of which in that space not above ten or twenty may dye. Look upon a flock of Sheep; how numerous would the encrease be, if the Shephard should not yearly choose out and set apart some to the Slaughter? The Birds and Fishes would in a short time fill the Air and Waters, if there were not certain dissensions; and (as it were) wars amongst themselves, and the endeavours of Men to diminish them. Every age is building of Cities and Towns; and if fire or other wayes of destruction should not interpose; neither this world of ours, nor the other

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ther world would be able to contain them. The same may we imagine of the whole Creation. What wonder therefore is it if our *Saturn* doth sometimes thrust his Sickle into this over-grown Field; and reap thence some superfluous thousands, either by the pestilence or vvarr? Which if he should not do, what Country would be able to hold us; or what Land could afford us sustenance? It is therefore requisite that something should perish from the parts; that so the whole may be eternal. For as to Rulers in States the safety of the People is the supream Law: So is it to God in respect of the World. For the beauty or Ornament of the World I conceive calamities make two wayes. First, because I apprehend no beauty any where in this great frame without variety, and a distinct succession and change of things. I acknowledge the Sun is exceedingly beautiful, but he becomes more ac-

ceptable to us at his return; through the interposition of the dew-engendering Night; and those black Curtains which she shuts him out with. The Summer is a most pleasant season, but yet the winter sets it off, with it's icy marbles, and hoary Frosts: Which if you take away, you really destroy the true relish, and that particular gust of Joy, which it's light and Warmth afford us. In this Country of ours, one and the same face of things delights me not; but I am pleasingly affected to behold the Valleys and Hills, and Rocks, fruitful and vast places, Meadows and Woods, for satiety and loathing are alwayes the Companions of Equality. And why then in this Scene of life (as I may so call it) should the same dress and countenance of things delight us? In my Mind it should not: Let there be sometimes some smooth and Halcyon Calmes; and let those after a while be discompos'd

pos'd and ruffled vvith the vvhirle-  
vinds of Warr, and the boysterous  
stormes of succeeding Tyrannies. For  
who would wish that this Universe  
should be like the dead Sea; vvithout  
Wind or Motion? But there is also  
another Ornament vvhich I guesse at  
vvhich is more serious and inwardly  
fruitful. Histories informe me, that  
better and smooother times, do still  
succeed storms. Do Warrs molest  
any people? Yet for the most part  
they refine and sharpen them; by in-  
troducing the Arts, and a vvarious cul-  
ture of ingenuity. The *Romans* of old  
impos'd a heavy yoke upon the world;  
but vvithall it prov'd a happy one in  
the event; for as the Sun chases away  
darkness from our Eyes: So did that  
ignorance and barbarisme from their  
Minds. What had the *Gaules* or we  
*Germans* now been, if the light of that  
great Empire had not risen to us? A  
sort of wild and inhumane savages,  
glutting our selves vvith our own and

others blood; and despisers both of God and Man. And if I rightly divine, the same will befall this new World; vvhich the *Spaniards* with an advantageous kind of cruelty have exhausted; but vwill again restore, and otherwise replenish. And as those vvhho have great plantations; remove some trees elsewhere, and cut down others: Skilfully disposing all things, to make them more fruitful and to prosper the better: So doth God in this vast Field of the World. For he is the most excellent improver, in some places he prunes and cuts off the luxuriant branches of some Families, and in others (as I may so say) he plucks off some leaves of persons. This helps the stock, though the branches fall, and the leaves that drop off, become the mockery of the vvinds. He sees this Nation scorched and vvithered away; as having out-liv'd their Vertues, and he casts them out. That other he observes to be vvild  
and

and unfruitful; he therefore transfers them; and others he mingles together, and engratts them (as it vvere) into one another. You *Italians* in the declining of the Empire, being now decayed and enfeebled: Why cumber you any longer that choice part of Earth? Depart and let those hardy and unbroken *Lombards* more happily improve that soil. You vicious and effeminate *Gracians* perish and let the harsh and sowre *Scythians* be mellowed there. So also by a kind of confusion of Nations, you *French* possess *Gaul*, you *Saxons* *Brittain*, you *Normans* *Belgia* and the places adjoining. All which and more *Lipsius* will readily occurre to him that is versed in Histories and the Events of things. Let us take courage then and know, that whatever private Calamity comes upon us; is some way or other advantageous to some part of the Universe. The setting of this Nation or Kingdom shall be the rise

of another. The ruines of this City, the foundation of a new one, nor can any thing here be properly said to dye, but to change only. Shall we *Belgians* think to be the only choice ones with God; that shall be perpetually wedded to felicity; and the only white boyes of Fortune. Fooles that we are. That great Father hath many more Children whom (because he will not all at once) permit to cherish, and receive by turnes into his bosome. We have already had our Sun-shines; let the Night succeed awhile, and let those beauteous rayes withdraw to the Western Nations. *Seneca* (as he uses) speaks aptly and wisely to this purpose. *Let a wise Man repine at nothing that befalls him; but let him know that those very things under which he seems to suffer; do make to the conservation of the Universe, and are of that number which fulfill that Law and Order which the World is confin'd to.*



## C H A P. XII.

*An old and common objection against the Divine Justice; why punishments are unequal. Its inquisition remov'd from Man; and therefore unlawful.*

**L***Angius* paws'd here; and thus I broke forth. What a spring of water is to the thirsty Traveller in the heats of Summer: such is this your discourse to me. It refreshes, it enlivens, and vvith its cooling juice, it mitigates and allayes my heat and Feaver. But it doth but allay; it does not quench it; for that thorne which also molested the ancients (about the inequality of punishments) remains still fixed in my breast. For *Langius*, if that ballance of Justice be even;  
how

how comes it to pass that this arrow  
of Calamities,

*So oft the nocent passas, but is sent  
Amongst the Virtuous still and inno-  
cent?*

Why (I say) are some guiltless people rooted out? and what have our wretched posterity done, that they should rue the crimes of their ancestors? This is that thick and troublesome mist that is got before my Eyes; which (if you can) I pray dissolve and scatter with some ray of Reason. *Lan- gins* frowning upon me, Young man (said he) dost thou thus again begin to wander from the path I set thee in? I may not suffer it; for as skillful Huntsmen, suffer not their Doggs to change; but force them to persist in the chase of that first buck they were lay'd into: So I am resolved you shall follow me in that track which I first trac'd out to you. I was discoursing

coursing you the Ends of Calamities; that if you are good, you may know your self exercised by them, if offending corrected, if wicked punish'd, and you forthwith hale me away to speak of the causes. And vvhhat vvhould that vvandering Mind of yours, by its so curious an inquisition? Would you touch those heavenly fires? They will melt you. Would you scale that Tower of Providence? You vvill fall headlong. As Moths and other little winged insects, towards Night, vvill fly round about a Candle till they are burnt: With the same danger doth the Mind of Man, sport it self and vvanton about that secret fire. Assign the causes (say you) vvhy divine vengeance overpassees these; and seises upon these? The causes? I may lawfully say I know them not. For that Heavenly Court never admitted me, nor I its decrees. This only I know, that the chief cause of all other causes is the vvill of God: Beyond vvich if  
any

any Man enquire, after any force or power; he is ignorant of the Divine Nature. For it is necessary that every cause be both before and greater than its effect; but than God and his Will, there is nothing either before or greater. There is therefore no cause of it. God strikes, and God passes by; vvhhat would you have more? As *Salvian* sayes piously and truly; the vwill of God is the perfection of Justice: But you vwill say, vve desire some reason of this inequality. from, vvhom? from God? To vvhom alone it is lawfull to do vvhatsoever he pleases, and vvho is pleased to do nothing but vvhat is lawfull? Shall a Servant call his Master; or a Subject his Prince to account? The one vvould call it an affront; and the other Rebellion: and vvill you be more insolent against God himself? Avvay vvith this perverse curiosity! This reason doth not otherwise appear to be one, than because it may be rendred to none.

And

## Chap. 12. of Constancy. 205

And yet vwhen you have all done,  
you shall never be able to disingage  
your self from these shades; nor ever  
arrive to the knowledge of those (truly  
so called) Privy Councils. *Sophocles*  
said excellently;

*Divine decrees thou shalt not know  
Though thou knew'st all beside;  
For those from us who are below  
The Gods themselves do hide.*

CHAP.

## CHAP. XIII.

*Yet to satisfie the curious, three usual Objections are answered: First, of that; that evil Men are not punished. To which is reply'd; that though their punishments are deferred, they are not remitted. And this comes to pass either for Mans sake, or from the Nature of God which is slow to Revenge.*

**T**HIS rude and simple way *Lipsius* is here the only safe one; the rest are slippery and deceitful. In superiour and divine things, the only acuteness is to discern nothing; and the only knowledge is to be ignorant. But forasmuch as this Cloud hath heretofore, and doth still rest upon the Minds of Men; in a few words (if possible) I shall endeavour to remove it, and waite you (now at a-stand) over  
this

## Chap. 13. of Constancy. 207

this River also. Pardon me, O thou Heavenly Mind said he ( lifting up his Eyes ) if I shall deliver any thing of these secrets ( yet vvith a pious intention ) less pure and pious than I ought. And first of all *Lipsius* methinks I am able in general to vindicate the justice of God vvith this one Argument. If God doth behold humane things, he doth also care for them, if he cares for them , he governs them, if he governes them it is with judgement, and if vvith judgement, how then unjustly ? For vvithout judgement there is no government, but a meer heap, confusion and Tumult. What have you to oppose against this Javelin ; What Shield or vvhat armes ? If you vvill confess it, nothing but humane ignorance; I cannot conceive ( say you ) vvhy these should be punish'd, and those other escape. Be it so; vvill you therefore add impudence to your imprudence ; and carp at the power of that Divine  
Law,

Law, which you cannot conceive of? What more unjust way of proceeding against justice can there be than this? If any stranger should take upon him to judge of the Laws and Constitutions of your Country; you would command him to desist and be silent; because he understands them not, and shall you who are the inhabitant of earth, presume rashly to censure the Laws of Heaven, you understand not? Or you that are the work to question your Maker? But it matters not, go on, for I shall now come up more close to you, and distinctly examine (as you desire me) these misty calumnies of yours by the Sun of Reason. Three things you object, that God doth not punish the wicked; that he doth punish the innocent; and that he substitutes and exchanges offendours. You say first divine vengeance doth ill to pass by wicked men. Doth it then o-

ver-



## Chap. 13. of Constancy. 209

verpass them? In my apprehension it doth not, but rather deferrs their punishment. If divers Men owe me money; and I require it of this deb-tour as soon as it becomes due, and allow to that other a longer time of payment: Am I therefore culpable? Or are not these things at my own dispose? The same does our Great God; to vvhom all vvicked men owe a punishment: He requires it presently of these, but gives day to others; yet to be paid with interest, and what injustice is this? unless (possibly) you are solicitous for God, and fear he should lose part of his debt, by his merciful forbearance: But you need not fear it; no Man ever prov'd bankrupt to this supream Creditour. We are all under his Eye vvheresoever we betake our selves; nay already in his shackles and custody. But I vvould (say you) have such a Tyrant immediately punished, that by his present slaughter, he may satisfie so many as

O

he

he hath oppressed. For this vway the Justice of God vwould shine out the more illustriously to us. Rather your stupidity in my Mind. For vvho art thou that not only presumest to lead on the judgements of God, but also to prescribe him his season? Do you think him your judge, or rather your Lictour or Executioner? Dispatch, lead him off (say you) scourge him, cover his face, and hang him up: For it is my vvill it should be so. O impudence! But God vvills it otherwise, vvho (you ought to know) sees more clearly into these matters, and punishes for other ends. The heats of passion, and a certain desire of Revenge transport us; from all vvhich God is most remotely distant, and intends the vvarning and correction of others: For he best knowes to vvhom and vvhen these things may be useful. The choice of times is of great moment, and for vvant of a due and seasonable administration, the safest medicines do

## Chap. 13. of Constancy. i i i

do oftentimes prove fatal to us. He took away *Caligula* in the first setting out of his Tyranny: He suffered *Nero* to run on longer, and *Tiberius* beyond either; and this no doubt for the good of those very Men, vvhho then also complain'd. Our vicious and uncorrected manners, do often stand in need of a lasting and continued scourge, though vve vvould have it straight remov'd, and thrown into the Fire. This is one cause of the forbearance of God, vvvhich respect us; the other respects himself. To vvvhom it seems natural to proceed on to his Revenge with a slow pace; and to recompence the delay of his punishment with the vveight of it. *Synecius* said vvell, the Divine inquisition moves on slowly and by degrees: And so did the Ancients vvho from this property of his; feign'd God to have feet of Wool. So that although you are passionately hasty of Revenge; you cannot yet accuse this delay, since it

is so only a respite of punishment; that it may be also an encrease. Tell me, were you present at a Tragedy; would you stomach it that the *Atræus* there, or the *Thyestes*; in the first or second act, should in a glorious garbe, and with a stately tread, pass through the Scenes: That they should rule there, threaten and command all? I suppose you would not, for you know that felicity is but short-lived: And expect that all this grandeur should finish in a fatal Catastrophe. In this Play and Fable of the World, why are you more offended with God, than you would be with any Poet? That wicked Man flourishes, and that Tyrant lives happy. Be it so; but think withall that this is but the first Act: And before possess your self inwardly with this, that tears and sorrows press on hard to overtake those joyes. This Scene shall shortly flow with blood, and then those robes of Gold, and Purple shall be

## Chap. 13. of Constancy. 113

be rowled up and down, and trampled in it. For that great Master of ours is a good Poet, and vwill not rashly exceed the Lawes of his Tragedy. Do vve not vvillingly bear with Discords in Musick for some time; because vve know that the last closures vwill end in comfort? Do so here. But you vwill say those miserable Creatures that have suffered under this Tyranny, do not alwayes see the punishment. What wonder is it? For the Play is oftentimes somewhat long; and they are not able to sit it out in this Theatre. But others see it and fear; because they see that though (in this severe Court of Judicatory) some Men are reprieved; yet they are not pardoned: And though the day of execution is prolonged, yet it is not forgot. Wherefore *Lipsius* remember this; that vvicked Men are sometimes forborne, but never acquitted: Nor is there any Man that entertains a crime into his brest, but

O 3                      who

who also hath a *Nemesis* at his back;  
for that Goddess is in pursuit of him  
and as I may say vvith *Euripides*,

*Vvith silent unsuspected pace  
She doth the guilty Sinner trace.  
And though he strive vvith utmost hast  
To scape; she seiseth him at last.*

---

#### CHAP. XIV.

*That there are diuers sorts of punish-  
ments; some occult and internal,  
which accompany the crime it self;  
and which the wicked never escape.  
That such are more grievous than  
any external ones.*

**W**Hich notwithstanding that you  
may more clearly apprehend;  
and that I may once lead you into the  
height of this cause: You must know;  
that

## Chap. 14. of Constancy. 115

that Divine punishments are threefold; Internal, Posthumous, and External. Those I call Internal which are inflicted on the Soul, while it is yet in the Body; such are Anxiety, Penitence, Fears, and a thousand pangs and stings of Conscience. Those are Posthumous; which are inflicted upon the same Soul, but then when it is freed and separate from the Body. Such are those torments which even the Ancients (most of them) were of opinion did await the wicked after Death. The third sort are such as touch upon the Body, or the things that belong to it; as Poverty, Banishment, Pain, Diseases, Death. All which do (sometimes) by the just Judgment of God concurr against the Wicked; but the two former alwayes. To speak of internal punishments; where shall we find the Man, so profusely and audaciously wicked; that hath not sensibly felt in his Soul some of these sharp scourges, and stripes

either in the Commission of his crimes or at least after he hath acted them. So true is that vvhich *Plato* said of old; that punishment treads upon the heels of sin: or as *Hesiod* more properly, it is coeval and twinns with it. The punishment of evil is not only ally'd to; but is bred vvithin that evil, nor is there any thing in this Life, that can pretend to calmness and security; besides innocence alone. As the *Roman* custome did enforce the Malefactor to bear that Cross which vvas streight to bear him: So hath God impos'd upon all wicked Men, this Cross of Conscience; on vvhich they shall begin to suffer, before their further and vvorse sufferings do begin. Do you suppose that only to be punishment, which we can look upon, and which this Body doth sensibly undergo? No. All those external things do but lightly, and for no long time touch upon us; they are the internal that more exquisitely torment us. As  
we



## Chap. 14. of Constancy. 117

we judge them to be more desperately sick, who languish away under an inward waste; than those that are seised vwith some visible inflammation, or preternatural heats, though these last are more apparent: So are vvicked Men under a more grievous punishment, vvho vvith so low and indiscernible procedures are lead on to their eternal Death. It used to be the cruel command of *Caligula*; so strike as that he may feel he dyes; the same befalls these Men, vvhom their Conscience as an Executioner, doth daily torture, and even kill by these slow degrees of lesser and repeated stripes. Nor let the splendour or the enlarged power and vvealth of those Men impose upon you: Since they are no more happy and fortunate for these than they are healthful, whose Gout or Feaver rests it self upon a purple Couch. Do you see a beggarly Fellow represent in some Play the person of a Prince, all Pompous and brave?  
You

You behold him yet vvithout envy; for you know how under those golden Robes his Sores and Filth, and Poverty lye hid: Think the same of all those great and proud Tyrants: *In whose Minds if they lay open to us saith Tacitus, we might behold gashes and wounds:* For as Bodies are torn with stripes; so are the Souls of Men miserably dilacerated vvith blood, lust, and other impious contrivances. They laugh I confesse sometimes, but it is no true laughter: They rejoyce, but their joyes are not genuine and kindly; but it fares vvith them as vvith condemned vvretches in a prison, who endeavour with Dice and Tables to shake out of their Memories the thoughts of their execution, but are not able: For the deep impression of their approaching punishment, remains vvith them; and the fearful Image of pale Death is continually before their Eyes. Look now upon the *Sicilian* Tyrant, vvith-drawing  
only

only the Veil of his outward happiness.

*A drawn Sword hangs in a twine thread  
Over the wretches impious head.*

Hear that *Roman* lamenting, let the God's and Goddeses destroy me worse then I every day perceive my self to perish. Hear that other thus sighing; Am I then that only one, vwho have neither Friend nor Enemy? These *Lip-sius* are the true torments and agonies of Souls; to be in perpetual Anguish, Sorrow, Dread, and which are incomparably beyond any Racks; or other invented wayes for the torture of the Body.

## C H A P. XV.

*That punishments after Death do await the wicked, and that for the most part they are not acquitted from External ones, is proved by examples.*

**A**Dde to these those Posthumous and External pains which we have learned from Divinity; and which without further discussion it will be sufficient only thus to mention. Adde to those also external punishments; which yet if they should be wanting, since the former are inflicted, who could reasonably blame the external Justice? But they are not wanting. Nor was it ever, at least very seldom, but that publick oppressours, and Men openly wicked; do undergo publick and open punishments; some sooner, others later; some in their own persons, and others

others in those of their posterity. You complain of *Dionysius* in *Sicily* that for many years with impunity, he exercises his Lusts, Rapine, and Murthers: Forbear awhile, and you shall behold him inglorious, exiled, pennylesse; and from a Sceptre (vwho would believe it) reduc'd to a Ferula. The King of that great Island shall teach School at *Corinth*, being himself become the mockery of Fortune: On the other side you resent it vwith passion that *Pompey* and his Army of Patricians should be vanquished in the Plains of *Pharfalia*; and that the conquerour for some time, doth wanton and even sport himself with Civill blood. I do not wonder at you: For I see here the helm of right reason wrested out of the hands of *Cato* himself, and this faltering expression falls from him: Divine things have much of obscurity in them. But yet thou *Lipsius*, thou *Cato*, turn your eyes this way a little. One sight shall reconcile  
you

you both to God. See that ambitious *Cesar*; that prov'd commander in his own opinion, and in others too almost a God; see him slain in the Senate house, and by the hands of Senators; not falling by a single Death, but secured by Three and twenty wounds; like some vild beast, weltring in his blood (and vwhat vwould you more) in *Pompey's* own Court, and at the foot of *Pompey's* Statue falling a great Sacrifice to that great shade. So methinks I pittie *Brutus* slain for and vvith his Country in the Fields of *Philippi*; but vvithall I am somewhat satisfyed, vvhen not long after I behold, those victorious armies like gladiatours slaughtering one another at his Sepulchre; and one of the Generalls *Marcus Antonius* vanquished both by Sea and land; in the Company of three Women, vvith that effeminate Arme of his scarce finding the Death he sought. Where art thou now thou once Lord of all the East; thou  
Butcher

Butcher of the Roman armies; the pursuer of *Pompey* and the Commonwealth? See how with thy bloody hand, thou hangeſt in a Cord; how being yet alive thou creepeſt into thy monument, and how even in Death it ſelf thou art unwilling to be divorc'd from her that vvas the cauſe of thy Death; and then judge whether dying *Brutus* ſpent his laſt breath and wiſh in vain.

*Iove ſuffer not to ſcape from thee  
The cauſe of this Calamity.*

No *Brutus*, he vvas not hid; neither did he eſcape. No more did that other General vvho ſmarted for his youthful crimes, not obſcurely in his own perſon, but moſt evidently in all his poſterity. Let him be the fortunate and great *Ceſar*, and truly *Auguſtus*, but vvithall let him have a *Iulia* for

for his Daughter, and another for his Grandchild. Let him lose some of his Grandchildren by fraud; others by force; and let himself force others into exile: and out of the impatience of these crosses, let him attempt to dye by a four dayes abstinence but not be able. To conclude let him live vvith his *Livia* dishonestly married, and dishonestly detain'd, and let him dye an unworthy Death by her, on vvhom he so unworthily doted. In summe saith *Pliny* that Diety, and who I know not more vvwhether he attain'd Heaven, or merited it: Let him dye and leave the Son of his Enemy to succeed him. These and such like are to be thought of *Lipsius* as oft as complaints of injustice are ready to break from us: and the Mind is presently to reflect upon these two things; the slowness and the variety of punishments. Is not that offendour punished now? But he shall be. Not in his Body? Yet in his Conscience  
and



## Chap. 15. of Constancy. 129

and Soul. Not vvhile he lives? Yet  
most certainly, when he is dead.

*Seldome slow punishments lame Feet for-  
sake,*

*The wicked Wretch what hast soe're he  
make.*

For that Divine Eye doth alwayes  
wvake; and vvhē vve suppose him to  
sleep, he doth but vvink: Only see  
you entertain not any prejudice against  
him: Nor go about rashly to judge  
him by whom shortly thy self is to be  
judged.

## C H A P. XVI.

*The Second Objection answered, that all have deserved punishment; in regard all have offended: That Men cannot judge who is more or less culpable. 'Tis God only that clearly discerns betwixt crimes, and therefore most justly punishes.*

**B**Ut ( say you ) there are some people punished that are guiltless, and have no way deserved it: For this is your Second complaint or rather Calumny. Unadvised Youngman! Are there then any punished who have not deserved it? Where I beseech you are those innocent Nations to be found? It is an excess of confidence, yes absolute rashness and presumption to assert thus much concerning any one single person; and shall you dare to justify whole Nations. But to small purpose this; for I am satisfied that all of us have sinned,

## Chap. 16. *of Constancy.* 127

ed, and do still every day repeat it. We are born in sin, and so we live in it; and to speak vvith the Satyrist the Magazeens of Heaven had been long since emptyed, if its Thunder-bolts had alwayes fallen upon the Heads of such as deserved them. For vve must not think that as Fishes, though increas'd and bred up in the Sea, do yet retain nothing of its saltness; so Men in the filthiness of this World should contract nothing of uncleanness. If then all are in fault: where are those guiltless people you speak of, who have not deserved the punishments they undergo; since it is most righteous that punishment should be the inseparable companion of unrighteousness. But you vvill say it is the inequality of it that displeases me: For vve see them heavily scourged that have but lightly offended; vvhile those that are outrageously vvicked, do continue and flourish in the height of all their grandeurs. Would you then vvrest the

ballance out of the hands of the Heavenly Justice, and poise it vvith your own vveights agreeable to your own apprehensions? For vvhat else can you mean by that bold pronouncing upon the equality or inequality of crimes, otherwise than God hath done before you? You are therefore here *Lipsius* to consider of two things: First, that a true estimation of the crimes of others, neither can nor ought to be attempted by Man: For how shall he do it; that not so much as observes them? And vvhich vvay shall he put an exact difference, betwixt those things vvhich he hath not so much as seen? For you will easily grant it me that it is the Mind that sins; by the Body and senses indeed as its instruments, but yet so as that the main business and vveight of the crime, doth in the mean time depend upon it self. This is so exactly true; that if it appear any one hath unwillingly sinned; he is clear of the sin. And  
if

if this be so how is it possible I beseech you, that you should thoroughly discern of Sin, who are not able to reach to the residence and seat of it. For so farr are you from seeing into the Heart and Soul of another; that you cannot attain to the knowledge of your own: It is therefore a wonderful vanity; and no less a temerity, to pretend to the Censure and Arbitration of such things, as are neither fully seen, nor to be seen; neither known, nor to be known. Consider secondly, that if what you say were true, there were yet neither Evil nor injustice done to them. No Evil; because its done for their good, who are presently punished, even for smaller offences. 'Tis rather the love of God to them; since that punishment which is delayed is justly to be suspected; as portending a heavier judgment is to come. Neither is it unjust; because (as I said) we have all deserved punishment: Nor can the

best of us pretend to so unblemished a purity ; but there will be found some such spots in it, as are to be washed out ( as I may say ) with this salt water of Affliction. Forbear therefore young-man this intricate pursuit of the respects and proportions of crimes ; And since thou art but an earthly and pedaneous judge ; leave it to God, who from his higher tribunal will determine of it ; with greater equity and certainty. 'Tis he only that can distinguish of our deserts ; and 'tis he alone who ( notwithstanding all artificial disguises ) can behold both vice and vertue in their proper countenances. Who can impose upon him who equally searches into things internal and external ; that sees at once the Body and the Mind, the Tongue and the Heart : And ( to conclude ) those things that are open, with those that are recluded and retired ? Who doth not only most clearly behold our actions themselves, but also

also their causes, and the vvhole progress of them. When *Thales* vvas ask'd, vvwhether a Man might hide his evil actions from God: He answered truly; no nor his evil thoughts neither. Whereas on the contrary vve are here so benighted; that vve do not only not see those close sins committed in the bosome, and (as they say) vvithin the Buttons; but scarcely those vvvhich are open and dragged into the light. For vve cannot behold the Crime it self, and the vigour of it; but some certain footsteps of it, vvhen it is already committed, and upon its departure: They oftentimes are the best Men to us, vvho are the worst in the sight of God; as on the contrary they are reprobates in our esteem, vvho are the choicest to him. Forbear therefore (if you are vvise) to discourse or judge of persons that deserve or deservv not their punishments; for such obscure causes as these are not to be decided, by some light and superficial appearances.

## CHAP. XVII.

*The Third Objection ; that punishments are transferred , answered. That Men do the same ; why God doth so ?*

**B**Ut you have cast another Cloud upon Justice ; vvhich I must disperse : It is concerning substitutes. For say you it is not so just that God should transerre punishments ; and 'tis somewhat hard that posterity should rue the crimes of their Ancestours. But vvhere is the wonder and strangeness of it. I rather vvonder at these vvonderers that they can find a wonder in that which is every day done by themselves here on Earth. Pray tell me ; do not those honours, vvvhich for his vertue a Prince hath conferred upon the Ancestours, descend to his posterity ? Yes they do ; and so also do



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do those mulcts and punishments, which are inflicted on him for his offences. In attaindours for treason or rebellion it is manifest that these are guilty; but others share in the punishment which humane cruelty doth so farr enlarge; as to make Lawes that follow the innocent Children with perpetual vvents; such as make life a burthen, and death a comfort. Perverse Minds, who will permit that to be lawful to a Prince or Magistrate; which you forbid to God: Who yet if you examine it rightly hath a juster reason for his severity. For all of us in one have sinned, and rebelled against this great King; and through so many successive Generations that first blot hath been derived to the unhappy Children: So that there is to God a continued twist and chain of Crimes. For instance; my Father or yours did not begin to sin, but all the Fathers of our Fathers: What vvender then is it if he punish  
in

in their posterity not ( properly ) divers offences ; but such as by a kind of communion of seed, have been still linked and coupled together, and never discontinued. But to omit these higher speculations, and to deal with you , in a more popular way of reasoning. You must know this that God joynes those things , vvhich vve ( through ignorance and unskillfulness ) use to sever , and that he considers Families, Cities, and Kingdomes ; not as divided but as one Body and Nature : The Family of the *Scipio's* or the *Casars* is one thing to him. *Rome* or *Athens* , for the whole time of their duration, were but one to him ; and so was the *Roman* Empire, and that very justly , for the Society of the same laws , and priviledges , is that bond vvhich unites these great bodyes, and intitles them though in several ages , to a communion in partaking of rewards and punishments. Were then the *Scipio's* of old good ? That Heav-  
venly

venly judge vwill remember it to the advantage of their posterity. Were they Evil? It shall be hurtful to them. Were the *Belgians* some years ago; Lascivious, Covetous, Impious? We shall suffer for it. For in every external punishment, God not only beholds the present, but also looks back upon pass'd times; and vvith the vveights of them both, doth most equally poise the ballance of his Justice. I sayd in external punishments and I vvould have you to observe it. For crimes themselves are not transferr'd, nor is there a kind of confusion of them: God forbid there should. But certain punishments and corrections only, such as are about us not in us; and which properly respect the Body, or estate; but not this inward Mind of ours. And in all this where is the injury? We are doubtless willing to be heirs of those advantages, and rewards (if any) that are due to our ancestours: And if  
so;

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so; why do we refuse the burdens,  
and punishments?

*Those Plagues for which the former times  
did call*

*On thee poor Roman undeservedly fall;*

Sings the *Roman* Poet, and truly;  
had he not added undeservedly. For  
'tis most deservedly, since our an-  
cestours did deserve it. But the Poet  
could only see the effect: He ascend-  
ed not to the cause; but as in one  
and the same Man, we justly punish  
in his old age, that offence, which  
he committed in his youth: So doth  
God the elder crimes of Empires and  
Kingdomes, because in respect of their  
outward communion, they are to him  
but one conjoynd thing. These in-  
tervals of time do not divide us with  
him who comprehends all eternity in  
the

## Chap. 17. of Constancy. 137

the vastness of his Mind. Should those martial Wolves, heretofore raise so many Cities, and break so many Scepters with impunity? Should they broach so much blood by the slaughters of others; and themselves never bleed for't? I should then indeed confess that God to be no avenger, who yet hears and sees all that we do. But they shall not scape so, at length of Necessity they must undergo punishments at least in their posterity; such as are slow indeed, but not too late. Nor is there a conjunction of time only with God but of parts too. I mean thus, that as in a Man the whole Body suffers, when possibly only the hand, or groin, or belly has offended: So is it in great Societies. All many times do account for the faults of a few: Especially if those that have sinned are (as it were) the more principal members; as Kings, Princes, and Magistrates. *Hesiod* spake truly,  
and

and from the most inward recess of  
Wisdom it self.

*For one Mans crime, oft the whole City  
smarts*

*For his oppressive sacrilegious Arts;  
Jove from high Heaven his dreadful ven-  
geance sheds*

*Of Plague or Famine upon all their heads:*

So the vvhole Navy of the *Gracians*  
perished.

*For ones offence what Ajax did commit  
In the distemper of a brain-sick fit.*

Thus in *Judea* threescore and ten  
thousand were slain with a single pe-  
stilence; for the unlawful pleasure of  
their King. And sometimes on the  
other side; God singles out one or  
but some few; to be the expiatorys  
of a general sin. In which if he recede  
something from the rigid Law of pa-  
rity; yet out of that very disparity a  
new

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new equity is raised; and that is a merciful act of Justice towards many; which seems cruelty upon a few. Does not the School-master give the Ferula to some one of his wantonizing Scholars? And does not a General chastize his cowardly Army, by the decimation of them? And both these upon the safest considerations: because the punishment though but of those few does terrify and amend all. I have often seen the Physitian strike a vein in the Foot or Arm, when the whole body was distempered: how know I but it may be thus here. These are secrets *Lipsius*, secrets I say, and if we are wise let us presume no nearer unto this sacred fire, some sparkling emanations and bright emissions of which Men may possibly behold, but it self they cannot. As they lose their sight that too daringly gaze upon the Sun; So they all the light of their Minds, who too intently fix it upon this more glorious light. Let  
us

us therefore abstain from that which is at once of so curious and so dangerous a disquisition: And let us rest satisfied at least in this, that crimes neither can nor ought to be estimated by Men, that the ballance and tribunal of God is different from that of ours; and that how abstruse soever those judgments are, yet they are not to be blamed, but patiently undergone and trembled at by us. This one Sentence I shall imprint you of, and with it, shall both close this discourse and shut the mouths too of all those Curioso's. The judgments of God are many of them hidden; but none of them unjust.



## C H A P. XVIII.

*A transition to the last Argument for Constancy, from Examples. That sometimes it is adviseable to mix harsher Physick with such things as are pleasant.*

**T**HIS is that *Lipsius* which I thought meet to say in the behalf of Divine justice against these unjust Cavillers. And though (I confess) it doth not directly lead on my discourse: Yet neither is it at all besides it. For we shall doubtless undergo our Calamities with greater cheerfulness and patience; when once we are thoroughly satisfied that they are not unjust. And here *Langius* pawling awhile, he suddenly broke forth again. 'Tis well (said he) I have recovered breath; I have got beyond all those Rocks of objections; and now (methinks) I may

Q

with

with full Sails spoom away into the Haven. I discover my fourth and last Brigade; which I shall very cheerfully lead up. And as Marriners in a tempest when they behold the Twins are full of hopes and mirth: So also am I (after all these storms) at the appearance of my Twinny Legion. I may safely call it so after the old custom since it is double. And two things I shall evince by it; that these miseries which we now suffer are neither grievous, nor new. Which while I shall dispatch in those few things that remain yet to say; see *Lipsius*, that you be attentive. Never more *Langius* (reply'd I) for it joyes me to have passed these difficulties; and after these serious and severer Medicines, I greedily long after this gentle and more popular one; for so the Title promises me it is. Nor are you mistaken said *Langius*, for as Physitians after they have sufficiently made use of Causticks and Incisions; do not so  
cast

# Chap.18. of Constancy. 143

cast off and relinquish their patients; but apply some gentle fomentations, and other remedies to assuage their pains: So will I deal vvith you; whom (because I have enough followed with the sharper methods of wisdom) I will now cherish with milder discourses, and handle (as they say) vvith a Ladies hand. I shall descend from that steep hill of Philosophy; and take a turn or two vvith you, in the pleasant plains of your Philology, and that not so much to recreate you as to compleat your cure. As they say *Demochares* the Physitian did to the Lady *Considia* since she refused all bar her prescriptions he caused her to drink the Milk of Goats; but yet such as he had fed vvith the Branches of the Lentisk Tree: So I vvill administer to you, Historical and pleasing things, vvich yet shall have a secret tincture of the juice of Wisdom. What matter is it how vve cure our patient, so vve make a perfect cure of it.

Q. 2

CHAP.

## CHAP. XIX.

*That publick Evils are not so great as they seem, proved first by Reason. That we fear the circumstance and dress of things rather than themselves.*

**M**Arch on then my Legion; and before the rest, let that cohort first advance, vvith vvhich vve shall maintain tl at these publick evils are not grievous, this shall be performed vvith the double vvweapon of reason and comparison of reason. First, for if vve respect that, all those evils vvhich are either present or imminent, are not really either great or grievous, but are so only in appearance. It is Opinion that heightens and aggravates our calamities; and presents them to us in so tragical a garbe. But (if you are vvise) disperse this vv circumjacted Cloud,

# Chap. 19. *of Constancy.* 145

Cloud, and examine things by a clearer light. For instance, you fear Poverty amongst these publick Evils, Banishment, Death: All which notwithstanding, if you look upon them with a perfect and settled Eye, what are they? If you examine them by their own just vweights, how light are they? This Warr or Tyranny by multiplyed contributions vwill exhaust you; what then? You shall be a poor Man. Did not Nature it self bring you into the World so? And vwill it not hurry you thence in the same manner? But if the despised and infamous name of it, displease you; change it, call your self free and delivered. For Fortune (if you know it not) hath disburdened you and placed you in a securer station, vwhere none shall exhaust you any more: So that what you esteemed a loss, is no other than a remedy. But say you I shall be an exile; call it (if you please) a stranger. If you change your affection;

Q 3

you

you change your Country, A yvise Man yvhereloever he is, is but a sojourner; a Fool is ever banished. But I daily expect Death from the Tyrant: As if you did not do the same from Nature. But that is an infamous Death that comes by the Ax or Halter: Fool! nor that nor any other Death is infamous; unless your life be so. Recall to your thoughts all the excellent and more illustrious persons since the vworld began; and you shall find them snatched away by a violent and untimely Death. Thus *Lipsius* you must examine (for I have given you but a taste) all those things vvhich have so frightfull an appearance, you must look upon them naked and apart, from those vizards and disguises; vvhich opinion hath put upon them. But alas poor creatures; vve gaze only upon the vain outsides of things: Nor do vve dread the things themselves, so much as we do the circumstantial dressees of them. If you put to Sea, and it swell high, your heart

## Chap. 19. of Constancy. 147

heart fails, and you tremble at such a rate, as if ( should you suffer Shipwrack ) you were to swallow it all; when alas one or two Sextaries would be sufficient. If there be a sudden Earth-quake; what a cry, and vvhhat fears it raises? You apprehend immediately, that the vvhole City ( or house at least ) vvhill fall upon you: Not considering how sufficient any single stone is to perform the vvorke of Death. 'Tis thus in all these calamities; in vvhich it is the noise and vain image of things that chiefly affrights us. See that Guard; these Swords. And what can that Guard, or those Swords do? They vvhill kill. And vvhhat is that being kill'd? 'Tis only a single Death; and lest that name should affright you: It is the departure of the Soul from the Body. All those military troops, All those threatning Swords, shall perform no more than vvhhat one Feather, one Grapestone, or one Insect can do. But this is the harsher vvhay of dying,

Q 4

dying. Rather it is much the milder, for that Feaver vvhich you vvould prefer, does often torture a Man for a year together; but these dispatch him vvith a blow, in an instant. *Socrates* therefore said vvell; vvho vvvas vvont to call all these things by no other name than that of Goblins and Vizzards, vvhich (if you put on you) will fright the children; but if you take them off again, and appear vvith your own face, they'l come again to you and embrace you. 'Tis the very same vvith these evils; vvwhose Vizzards if you pluck off, and behold them apart from their disguises; you vvill confess you vvvere scared vvith a childish fear. As Hail falling upon a house dashes it self in pieces: So if these calamities light upon a constant Mind, they do not break it but themselves.



C H A P. XX.

*A Second proof by way of Comparison.  
But first the Calamities of the Belgians, and of the Age heightened.  
That common Opinion refused. And proved that the Nature of Man is prone to aggravate our own Afflictions.*

I Did not expect so serious a discourse from *Langius* and therefore interrupting him; whether go you said I, was this it you promised? I expected the sweet and delicious vines of History; and you bring me such harsh and unpleasant ones, as scarce all the stores of Wisdom will afford their like. Suppose you that you are speaking to some *Thales*? 'Tis to *Lipsius* a Man; and that of the middle rank; who desires remedies that are somewhat more humane than these.

*Lang.*

*Langius* vvith a mild countenance and tone, I acknowledge (said he) you justly blame me. For vvhile I followed that pure ray of reason; I perceive I am got out of the common Road, and unawares again fallen into the path of Wisdom. But I return now; to vvalk vvith you in a vvay that is better known; since the austerity of that wine doth displease you; I shall quallify and allay it vvith the sweets of examples. I come now to comparison; and I vvill clearly shew you that in all these calamities vvhich every vvay surround us, there is nothing great or grievous, if you compare them with those in times past. For those of old vv ere greater by many degrees, and more truly to be lamented. I replied vvith a gesture that discovered something of impatience, Will you averre this said I

—— and hope you to perswade  
Me to believe what you have said?

Never

## Chap.20. of Constancy. 151.

Never *Langius* so long as I am Master of my reason; for vvhhat former age ( if you rightly consider it ) vvas ever so calamitous as this of ours, or vvhhat after one shall be? What Nation? What Country ever endured,

*So heavy miseries and manifold  
Grievous, or to be suffered, or be told?*

As vve *Belgians* do at this day? You see vve are involved in a Warr; not in a forreign one only, but a civil; and that in the very bowels of us. For there are not only parties amongst us, but ( O my Country vvhhat hand shall preserve thee ) a subdivision of those parties. Add to this the Pestilence, add Famine, add Taxes, Rapines, Slaughters, and the height of all the Tyranny and Oppression, not of our Bodies only, but our Souls too. And in the rest of *Europe* vvhhat is there? Either Warr or the expectation of  
Warr,

Warr, or if there be peace, it is conjoyned with a base subjection to petty Rulers; and not a vvhit eligible before Warr it self. Which way soever you turn your Eyes or thoughts, you vvill find all things full of suspition and suspense: And as in a house that is ill underpropt; many visible signes of an approaching ruine. To conclude *Langius* as there is a General rendezvous of all Rivers at the Ocean: So all sorts of Calamities seem to Centre in this Age. And yet I now speak only of such as are at present upon us; what are those that await us? Of vvhich I may justly sing that of *Euripides*,

*Such spacious Seas of ills I see  
As cannot safely passed be.*

*Langius* looking severely upon me; do you again (said he) cast your self down vvith these complaining? I thought by this time you had stood firme;

## Chap. 20. of Constancy. 153

firme ; and that your wound had  
 been closed : But you relapse. If  
 ever you will recover, it is requisite,  
 that there be a kind of calmness in  
 your Mind. This Age say you is the  
 most unhappy. It is an old com-  
 plaint ; I know your Gransier said the  
 same, and so likewise your Father ;  
 I know also your posterity will have  
 the same complaint. Nature has ri-  
 veted this into the Disposition of  
 Man ; to look fixedly upon his Evils ;  
 and to shut his Eyes upon his mer-  
 cies. As Flyes and other Insects, do  
 not rest long upon smoot<sup>h</sup> and po-  
 lished places, but stick to those that  
 are rough and soiled : So this que-  
 rulous Mind of ours, lightly over-  
 passes our better fortunes : But will  
 not be vvithdrawn from its contem-  
 plations of that vvich is vvorse. It  
 handles and pryes into its evils, and for  
 the most part shews it self vvitty, in  
 the aggravating comments that it makes  
 upon them. As lovers ever find some-  
 thing

thing in their mistress; for vvhich she must needs surpass all others in excellency: So do those that are afflicted, vvith their miseries. Yes vve fancy to our selves vain additions, and lament not only our present, but future Calamities. And vvhat is the reward of this too too inquisitive Genius of ours? No other, than as some Armies are frighted out of their Camp, by the dust that is raised afarr off: So vve are often cast down, by the false shaddow of a future danger.

C H A P. XXI.

*A more strict confutation of it, by comparing the present Evils, with those of former times. First, of Warrs, of the wonderfull slaughter of the Jews.*

**L**eave then those vulgar things *Lipsius*, and follow me to that comparison vvhich you challenge me to make. By this I shall clear it to you, that as to all the sorts of Calamities, not only the like have happened of old, but also greater; and that the age we live in, ha's rather matter of triumph than complaint. We are engaged in a Warr say you. What? Were there then no Warrs amongst the ancients? Yes *Lipsius* they vvere begun vvith the vvorld; nor are they like to end but vvith it. But possibly they were not so great, so grievous

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as ours. So farr are you from the truth; that (I speak seriously) these vvars of ours, are onely pastime and sport, if compar'd vvith those of the Antients. I cannot easily find an entrance or an exit, if I should once lanch forth into this depth of examples. Nevertheless, vvill you that vve travel through the parts of the World? Let us for forward then, and begin vvith *Ju-  
dea*, that is to say, vvith the holy Land and Nation. I omit what they suffer-  
ed in *Egypt*, and what after their departure from thence; for those are recorded, and easily to be met with in the Scriptures. I come to their latter sufferings, and such as did accom-  
pany their funerals; which I will place severally as in an Index. They suffer-  
ed vvhat by civil and vvhat by forreign warres, all that followes. *viz.*

Slaine at *Jerusalem* by the command of *Florus* six hundred and thirty.

At *Cesarea* by the inhabitants out  
of



## Chap. 21. of Conſtancy. 257

of hate to the Nation and their Religion; twenty thouſand.

At *Scythopolus* a City of *Calosyria*, thirteen thouſand.

At *Aſcalon* in *Paleſtine* by the inhabitants alſo, two thouſand five hundred.

At *Ptolemais* in like manner, two thouſand.

At *Alexandria* in *Egypt* under *Tyberius Alexander* the then Governour; fifty thouſand.

At *Damaſcus*, ten thouſand.

All this was done ſeditiouſly, and by vway of tumult; but there were ſlain beſides in a juſt and open warr by the *Romans*

At the taking of *Ioppa* by *Caius Florus*, eight thouſand and four hundred.

On a Mountain called *Cabulon*, two thouſand.

In a fight at *Aſcalon*, ten thouſand.

Beſides by ſtratagem, eight thouſand.

R

At

At the taking of *Aphaca*; fifteen thousand.

At mount *Garizim* were slain; eleven thousand six hundred.

At *Iotapa* where *Iosephus* himself was present, about thirty thousand.

At the second taking of *Ioppa* there were drowned, four thousand and two hundred.

Amongst the *Tarycheans* were slain, six thousand and five hundred.

At *Gamala* that were killed, and that precipitated themselves, nine thousand.

Nor were any of that City saved, besides two women that were Sisters.

In the desert of *Giscala* were killed in flight two thousand, and taken of women and children, three thousand.

Slain of the *Gadarens*, thirteen thousand,

Taken two thousand two hundred.

Besides

## Chap. 21. of Constancy. 259

Besides infinite numbers of those that perished in the vvaters.

In the Villages of *Idumæa* ten, thousand.

At *Gerasa*, one thousand.

At *Machærus*, one thousand seven hundred.

In the Wood *Iardes*, three thousand.

In the castle of *Massada* vvhich slew themselves, nine hundred and sixty.

In *Cyrene* by *Catulus* the Governour vvere slain, three thousand.

But in the City of *Ierusalem* throughout the whole time of the siege, the number of them that dyed or were slain is, ten hundred thousand.

Taken ninety seven thousand.

The whole number amounts to (besides infinite omitted) twelve hundred and forty thousand.

What say you *Lipsius*? Do you cast down your Eyes at these things? Look up rather; and (if you dare) compare

with the Massacres of this one Nation, the Warrs of the Christian world for some years. And yet how small and inconsiderable is either this Country or people; in comparison of all Europe?

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## CHAP. XXII.

*Of the Calamities of the Græcians and Romans too occasioned by Warr. the vast number of Men slain by some particular Commanders. The Desolations of the new found world, and the miseries of captivity.*

**N**OT to stay here any longer; let us pass over into Greece, to recount orderly all those warrs they maintained both against forraigners and amongst themselves; would be too tedious and to little purpose. This  
I

## Chap:22. of Constancy. 261

I say it was so exhausted and lop't with a constant continued *Ax* of Calamities; That *Plutarch* tells us ( which I never read without wonder and indignation ) all of it in his age was not able to muster up three thousand Souldiers ; which number yet, the one small City of *Megara* ( saith he ) had formerly set forth in the *Persian* Warr. Ah ! whither art thou fallen, thou once the glory of the Earth, the light and leader of the nations ? There is scarce a Town at this day ( of any name ) in this our vvaisted *Belgia* , but is able to raise such a number of Men fit to bear Armes. Let us take now a view of *Italy* and the *Romans*. *Augustine* and *Orosius* have already eased me of this trouble. Consult them and there you vwill meet vvith Seas of evils. The second *Punick* vvarr it self, in les than seventeen years ( for I have exactly computed it ) consumed in *Italy* *Spain* and *Sicily* only ; above fif-

teen hundred thousand men. The civill vvar betwixt *Pompey* and *Cæsar* three hundred thousand. And the Arms of *Brutus*, *Cassius*, and *Sextus Pompeius* a greater number. But why should I insist upon such Warrs, as were managed by the conduct of several Commanders? That one *Cæsar* (the plague and poyson of mankind) confesses and that in a vway of triumph, that there fell by him in several batails, eleven hundred ninety and two thousand men; not reckoning into this number the slaughters of the civil Warrs; But only those of forraign Nations, which he had made in those few years wherein he had the Government of *Spain* and *Gaul*. In which notwithstanding (greater in this too) the Great *Pompey* out-went him; who wrote in the Temple of *Minerva* that there were by him vanquished, put to flight, slain and taken One and twenty hundred, and eighty three thousand men. To these (if you willy)

you

## Chap. 22. of Constancy. 263

you may adde *Quintus Fabius* vwho  
 slew one hundred and ten thousand  
*Gauls*. *Caius Marius* two hundred thou-  
 sand *Cimbrians*. And in the latter ages  
*Aetius* vwho in that memorable *Cata-*  
*lanian* Field slew one hundred sixty  
 two thousand *Hunnes*. And lest you  
 should think that in these Warrs, there  
 were only Carcases of Men; there  
 were those of Cities too. That *Cato*  
 the Censour boasts that he took more  
 Towns in *Spain* than he continued  
 dayes there. *Sempronius Gracchus* (if  
 we may believe *Polybius*) raised Three  
 hundred in the same *Spain*; nor hath  
 any age (as I think) any thing to add  
 to these Examples; unless it be our  
 own, though acted in another World.  
 A few *Spaniards* about Eighty years  
 ago; passing over into those vast and  
 new found Lands: Good God! vwhat  
 funeralls; vwhat slaughters did they  
 make? I do not discourse the causes  
 and justness of that Warr; but only  
 the events. I see that huge space of

Earth ( vvhich certainly vvas a great enterprize to discover , not to say to overcome ) overrun by twenty or thirty Souldiers , and those unarmed multitudes every vvhere mow'd down as corn is by the sythe. Where art thou *Cuba* the greatest of Islands, *Haytus* or you *Aicayans*? Which heretofore were each of you guarded vvith six or ten hundred thousand men; but have now ( some of you ) scarce preserved fifteen of them for seed. Shew thy self awhile thou *Peru* and thou *Mexico*. O vvonderful and miserable face ! that immense tract, and such as may vvell be called another World , appears vast and desolate, in such a manner as if it had been blasted vvith a fire from Heaven. My Tongue and Heart fail me *Lipsius*, as oft as I remember these things; and I look upon all that hath befallen us ( in comparison of these ) to be but pieces of strawes ( as the Comædian vvords it ) or little mites. Nor do I here represent to you, the  
con-



## Chap.22. of Constancy. 265

condition of captivity, than vvhich nothing vvas more bitter in the Warrs of the Ancients. Free, noble, Men, Women and Children, all sorts vvere hurried away by the Victour; and vvho knowes but it vvas into eternal slavery? Into slavery it vvas. The footsteps of vvvhich, I justly rejoyce, have not been nor yet are in the Christian World. 'Tis true the Turks practise it, nor is there any thing that ought to render that *Scythian* Tyranny more detestable or dreadfull to us.

CHAP.

## C H A P. XXIII.

*Wonderful examples of Plagues and Famines in Former times. Also of excessive Taxes and Rapines heretofore.*

**B**Ut you goe forward in your complaints, and speak of the plague and Famine, of Taxes and Rapines. Will you then that we proceed vwith each of these in our comparison, though briefly. Tell me in these five or six years, how many thousands, hath this plague snatched away in all *Belgia*? As I guess fifty or at the most one hundred thousand. But in *Iudea* a single plague in the reign of King *David*, swept away seventy thousand in less than a day. When *Gallus* and *Volusianus* were Emperours, a plague beginning in *Ethiopia* passed through all the *Roman* Provinces; and

## Chap. 23. of Constancy. 267

and for fifteen years together did incredibly exhaust them. Nor did I ever read of a mortality that lasted so long ; or that spread it self so vvide. But that vvhich seised upon *Constantinople* and the neighbouring places in the reign of *Iustinian* the Emperour is more remarkable for the fury and fierceness of it : vvhich vvas such that it made every day five thousand funerals and sometimes ten. I should not be forward to speak this ; but should my self remain doubtful of the credit of this report : vvere it not confirmed by unquestionable vvitnesses, that lived in the same age. Nor vvas that *African* plague less vvonderful, vvhich began upon the ruine of *Carthage* and destroyed in *Numidia* alone eighty thousand men, in the Sea costs of *Africa* two hundred thousand : about *Vtica* thirty thousand Souldiers left there as the guard of those parts. Again in *Greece* in the reign of *Michael Ducas* there was so raging a plague

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plague that ( they are *Zonaras* his vvords ) the living did not suffice to bury the dead. To conclude in *Petrarchs* time ( as himself reports it ) so direful a one fate brooding upon *Italy*, that of every thousand men scarce ten survived. I come now to speak of Famine : Certainly vve of this Age have seen nothing, if vve consider the times past. When *Honorius* vvas Emperour, there vvas such a dearth and scarcity of all sorts of provisions, that men vv ere ready to eat one another, For it vvas openly cried at the Cirque, set the price of mans flesh. In the reign of *Iustinian* throughout *Italy* ( after the *Goths* had vvasted it ) there vvas one so great, that in *Picenum* alone, there vv ere fifty thousand men famished to death : and all about, they eat not only the flesh of men, but their own excrements. Two vvomen ( I tremble to speak it ) had at several times by night treacherously killed seventeen men and eaten

ten them : and vvere themselves slain by the eighteenth who had discovered their practise. I forbear to relate the famine in *Ierusalem* and the yvell known examples of it there. If I must say something of Taxes also ; I deny not but they are heavy ones with which we are pressed. But they are such only , vwhen you look upon them by themselves ; not when you compare them vwith those of old. All, most all the Provinces of the Roman Empire , payed yearly the fifth part of the profits of their pasture , and the tenth of their arable. Nor did *Anthony* and *Cesar* forbear to exact the tributes of nine or ten years to be payed in one. When *Iulius Caesar* vvas slain , and armes were taken up for their liberty , every Citizen was commanded to pay down the five and twentyeth part of all their goods. And more than this all that were Senatours payed for every tile of their house six asses. An immense  
con-

contribution, above the reach of our senses as vvell as of our Estates. But *Octavianus Caesar* (probably vvith some reference to his name,) exacted and received of all freed men the eighth part of their Estates. I omit vvhat the Triumvir's and other Tyrants have done, lest I should reach those of our times, by the recitall of them. Let that one of Colonies, be instead of all examples of Exactions and Rapines. An invention then vvhich nothing did more contribute to the strength of the Empire : and nothing could be devised, more grievous to the Subject. Veteran Legions and Cohorts were drawn out into Towns and Fields, and the miserable Provincials, (in a moment of time) were thrust out of all their Estates and Fortunes, and that for no offence or unlawful attempt, their riches onely and plentiful possessions vv ere their crimes. In vvhich certainly the sum of all calamities is comprized. It's a great

## Chap. 23. of Constancy. 271

great misfortune to be robbed of our money, what is it then to be deprived of our houses and lands? And if it is grievous to be driven thence: what is it to be forced from our Country, our Temples and Altars? You might see some thousands of woful people hurried away, children from their Parents, Masters from their Families, Wives from their Husbands, and thrown out into divers Countreyes, as their lot designed them. Some amongst the thirsty *Affricans*, and as the Poet saith in this very case,

*Others were into Scythia hurl'd,  
Or Brittain sever'd from the world.*

One single *Octavianus Caesar* placed eight and twenty colonies in *Italy* only; and in the Provinces as many as he pleased. Nor was there any thing (I know) that was more destructive to the *Gauls* as *Germans*, and the *Spaniards*.

## C H A P. XXIV.

*Arehearfall of some strange Cruelties  
and murthers in time past, above  
the guilt of this Age.*

**B**Ut yet ( say you ) there are such  
cruelties and murthers at this day,  
as the like have not been heard of. I  
know vvhat you point at, and vvhat  
vvvas done of late, but I appeal to  
your conscience *Lipsius*, vvvas their no  
such thing amongst the ancients? How  
ignorant are you if you know it not,  
and how vvicked if you dissemble it?  
For there is such a plenty of Exam-  
ples in this matter, and they lye so  
ready, that it is some trouble even  
to choose. Know you not the name  
of *Sylla* the Fortunate? If you doe,  
you remaember that infamous and cru-  
el prescription of his, by vvwhich he  
cast out of one City four thousand se-  
ven



## Chap. 24. of Constancy. 273

ven hundred Citizens. Nor were they of the meaner sort; but one hundred and forty of them were Senators. Nor do I touch upon those infinite slaughters that were usually acted either by his permission or command. So that not undeservedly those words burst from *Quintus Catulus* with whom at length shall we live; if in Warr we kill armed Men, and in peace the disarmed. But shortly after; this same *Sylla* was imitated by his Disciples: I mean the triumvirs, who in like manner proscribed three hundred Senators, and above two thousand Roman Knights. O wickedness! A greater cruelty than this the Sun in all its travels from the East unto the West; did never yet behold; nor is like to do hereafter. If you please you may look into *Appianus*; and there you may behold the various and deformed condition of those times: Of those that lay hid, and fled; of those that stopped their flight, and halled them forth:

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the

the vvoful vvailings of Wives and Children; so that you vvould believe humanity itself had perished and fled from that savage and inhumane age. These cruelties were acted upon the persons of Senatours and Knights, that is to say, upon so many little less than Kings and Princes; but possibly the Commons were more favourably dealt with. No such matter. Look upon the same *Sylla*, who commanded four Legions of the contrary party ( for whose security he had given his faith ) to be murdered in the publick Villa; they in vain imploring the mercy of his treacherous right hand: Whose dying groans reaching the Curia and the Senate being startled and amazed at it: Let us mind our business Conscript Fathers, ( said he ) a few seditious fellows are punished by my command. I know not vvhich I should most vvonder at; that a Man could do so, or that he could speak so. Will you have more examples of cruelty? Take them.

*Servius*

## Chap. 24. of Constancy. 275

*Titus Galba* in *Spain* summoning the people of three Cities together; as if to communicate to them something to their advantage; suddenly commanded seven thousand of them to be slain; amongst which was the flower of their youth. In the same Country *Lucius Licinius Lucullus* the Consul sent his Souldiers into the City of the *Cantabrians*, and slew twenty thousand of them contrary to the Articles agreed upon at their yielding. *Octavianus Augustus* when he had taken *Perusia*; chose out three hundred of the chiefest of both orders, and though they had yielded themselves, he slew them as Sacrifices before an Altar which he had erected to *D. Julius Antoninus Caracalla*, (being offended with those of *Alexandria*; for I know not what jests upon him) enters that City in a semblance of peace; and when he had commanded all their young Men into the Field; he surrounds them with his Souldiers, upon a Signal given

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he kills them every one, and using the same cruelty to the remaining multitude, he utterly exhausted that populous and most frequented City. King *Mithridates* by one letter caused eighty thousand Roman Citizens to be slain; that were dispersed throughout *Asia* about their mercandise. *Volesus Messalla* the Proconsul of *Asia*, in one day caused three hundred to be beheaded; and strutting amongst the dead bodyes with his armes on his sides, as if he had done some glorious act; cryed out aloud; O Princely deed! Hitherto I have only spoken of prophane and impious persons; but behold amongst those that are devoted to the service of the true God: You will find it of the Emperour *Theodosius* that having by the highest wickedness and deceit, betrayed seven thousand innocent people of *Theſſalonica* into the Theatre, under pretence of exhibiting some playes; He sent his Souldiers amongst them, and murdered

## Chap. 25. of Constancy. 277

thered them all: Than vvhich fact nothing is to be found more impious in the records of all the Heathen impieties. Go now my *Belgians*, and after all this, accuse the cruelty and treachery of the Princes of this Age,

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### C H A P. XXV.

*Of the present Tyranny. That it is from humane Nature or Malice. Oppressions external and internal were heretofore.*

**L**Astly, you complain of the Tyranny that is now adayes, and the oppressions at once both of our Bodies and Souls. My purpose is not (at this time) to applaud, or condemn our own age; for to what end were it? My business is to compare only. I ask you therefore when ever those

S 3

evils

evils ywere not; and where that place was. Assign me any one Age, any one Nation, without a remarkable Tyranny in it; and ( for I'll run the hazard ) I will then confess, that we are the most wretched of all that are miserable. Why do you not reply? I see that old Sarcasme is true; all the good Princes may be registred in a Ring. For it is natural to Man to use authority insolently, and hardly to keep a mean in that which it self is above it. Even we our selves who complain of Tyranny, do yet carry the seeds of it inclosed in our bosoms: Nor is there a Will wanting in most of us to discover them, but the power. A Serpent vwhen he is benumbed with cold, hath poyson within him, though he do not exert it; 'Tis the same in us, whom only weakness keeps innocent, and a kind of Winter in our Fortunes. Give but power, give means, and I fear that the most of those that accuse would transcend the example of  
their

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their superiours. This is every dayes instance; see that Father stern with his Children, that Master with his Servants, and that School-Master with his Scholars. Each of them is a *Phalaris* in his kind, and raise the same waves in their Brooks, as Kings do in their greater Seas. The same Nature is discernible in other creatures; most of which prey upon their own kind, both in the Air, the Earth, and the Water:

*So greater Fish devour the smaller fry,  
And weaker Fowle under the Goshawks die.*

sayes *Varro* truly; but you will say these are the oppressions of Bodies only: But this is the peculiar of our age, that ours are of the Soul also. Take heed you speak not this with more malice than truth. That Man seems to me to be little skilled in the knowledge of himself, and the heavenly nature of the Soul; that thinks it can be forced or

compelled. For no outward violence whatsoever can make you will, that which you do not will; or to yield to that which you do not assent to. Some have power over the bond and tie of the Soul; but none over it self. A tyrant may loose it from the Body, but he cannot dissolve the nature of it, which being pure, eternal, fiery, dispises every external or violent attempt. But we may not speak our own thoughts. Be it so. The bridle then curbs your Tongue only, not your Mind; your Actions, but not your Judgment. But even this is new, and unheard of. Good Man! how are you mistaken? How many can I point you out, who have suffered under Tyrants, for their opinions? through the heedlesness of their tongues? How many of those Tyrants have endeavoured to compel mens Judgements, and their Judgements too in matters of Religion? It was the common custom of the *Per-  
sians* and the Eastern Nations to adore  
their



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their Kings, and we know that *Alexander* challenged to himself that divine adoration, with the ill will of his ruder *Macedonians*. Amongst the Romans that good and moderate Emperour *Augustus* had in the Provinces, yes in every house, Flamens and Priests as a God. *Caligula* cutting off the Heads from the Statues of the Gods, with a ridiculous impiety, caused his own to be placed upon them. The same instituted a Temple, Priests and chosen Sacrifices to his own deity. *Nero* would be taken for *Apollo*, and the most illustrious of the City were slain, under this accusation; that they had never sacrificed to the heavenly voice. *Domitian* was openly called our Lord and God. Which vanity or impiety if it were found at this day, in any of our Kings; what would you then say *Lipsius*? I will sail no nearer this *Scylla*, into which no winds of ambition shall either betray or force me: For a secure old age is the reward of silence. I will bring in  
only

only one testimony of the ancient slavery, in this respect; and that shall be out of an Author you are well acquainted vwith, and I vwould have you to attend him. 'Tis *Tacitus* in the reign of *Domitian*: We read (sayes he) that when *Pctus Thralea* was praised by *Arulenus Rusticus*, and *Priscus Helvidius* by *Herennius Senecio*; it was capital to them both. Nor did the cruelty extend it self only to the Authors, but also to their Works. Charge being given to the *Triumvirs*, that the monuments of those excellent wits should be burnt in the *Forum* and *Comitium*, supposing by that one fire, to have suppressed the voice of the people of *Rome*; the liberty of the *Senate*, and the conscience of *Mankind*. The professors also of *Wisdom* were banished; and all ingenious arts proscribed, lest there should any where appear the least footsteps of honesty. We gave certainly a grand example of our patience; and as the foregoing ages saw the utmost height of liberty, so did we of slavery, the commerce of hear-  
ing

## Chap. 26. of Constancy. 283

*ing and speaking being barred; and in danger by informers. We had certainly lost our memories together vvith our speech if it had been as much in our power to forget, as it was to be silent.*

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### C H A P. XXVI.

*Lastly, that these evils are neither strange nor new. But common to all Nations and Men; whence we may derive comfort.*

**I** Have done vvith comparison; and now I bring up the other Brigade of my Legion, vvhich opposes the novelty of these Calamities: But briefly and by vvay of Triumph. For it rather takes the spoiles of the already conquered enemy; than fights vvith him. And to speak truth, vvhat is there in these things, that can appear new to any Man

man, that is not himself a gross Ignaro in humane affairs? *Grantor* said excellently and wisely; who alwayes had this verse in his Mouth.

—— *Ah me! and why ah me?  
We suffered but a humane misery.*

For these Calamities do daily move in a Circle, and in a kind of round pass through this round World. Why do you sigh that these sad things fall out? Why do you wonder at it?

*O Agamemnon thou wert not  
To pleasing things alone begot,  
But to equal hopes and fears  
Interchange of joys and tears.  
For thou art mortal humane born, and  
though  
Thou should'st refuse, the Gods will have  
it so.*

It were rather a wonder that any should be exempted from this common  
Law;

## Chap. 26. of Constancy. 285.

Law; and should not have his part in that burthen, which lyes upon the backs of all. *Solon* when a friend of his at *Athens* was sadly bewailing himself; he brings him into the Tower, and from the top of it shews him all the houses of that great City. Think with your self (sayes he) how many sorrows have heretofore been under these roofs; now are, and hereafter shall be: And then cease to lament the evils of Mankind, as if they were your own only. I wish I could give you the like prospect of this vvide World *Lipsius*, but since it is not to be done actually; let us imagine it. I place you upon the top of some high Mountain (*Olympus* if you please) look down now upon all those Cities, provinces and Kingdoms beneath: And think that you see but so many inclosures of humane Calamities; the Amphitheatres, and (as it were) the Sands, in which the bloody sports of Fortune are exhibited. You need not look farr from hence,

hence; do you see Italy? It is not yet thirty years since it rested from sharp and cruel vvarrs on every side. See you the spacious *Germany*? The dangerous sparks of a Civil discord were there but of late, vvhich threaten to break forth afresh ( and if I am not deceived ) into a more destructive flame. Do you see *Brittain*? Warrs and slaughters are perpetually in it, and that peace vvhich it now awhile enjoyes; it owes to the government of the middle Sex. See you *France*? Behold and pittie it. Even now the Gangrene of a bloody warr, creeps into all the Joints of it: Nor is it otherwise in all the rest of the World. Think upon these things *Lipsius*, and let this communion in miseries help to alleviate those of yours. And as they used to place a slave behind the Triumpher, who in the midst of all the joyes of the triumph, was often to cry out to him; thou art yet but a Man: So let this Monitour alwayes stand by to remember you, that these

## Chap. 27. of Constancy. 287.

these are humane things. For as labour in Society vvith others is more easy; so is also our grief.

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### C H A P. XXVII.

*The conclusion of the whole discourse, and a short exhortation to consider seriously of it.*

I Have drawn forth all my forces *Lipsius*; and you have had vvhat I thought meet to say for constancy against Grief: vvhich I vvish may not onely be pleasant to you, but healthful, not only delight you, but (vvhich is more) be helpful to you. This it vvill doubtless be if you admit it not only into your Ears, but into your Mind; and if you suffer not vvhat you have heard to lye and vvither as feed that is cast upon the surface of the ground.

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ground. Lastly, if you seriously digest and ruminate upon it: For as fire is not forced from the flint with one stroke; so in these cold bosomes of ours, that retired and failing spark of goodness, is not enkindled by a single admonition. That at last it may truly flame in you; not in words and appearance only, but in reality and deed; I humbly beg and beseech of that divine fire. When he had thus said, he rose up hastily; I go *Lipsius* (sayes he) the Sun at this Noon height remembers me it is dinner time; do you follow. That I will readily and cheerfully (said I) justly making that acclamation, which they use to do in their mysteries;

*I have the Evil fled,  
And the Good discovered.*

FINIS.



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